G. Genadiou 6, 106 78 Athens, Greece
☎ 0030 210 38.23.113
🖷 0030 210 38.11.902

Publication Design: Dimitris Zazas

ISBN 978-960-6736-22-3

THE LETTERS
OF THEODOROS HYRTAKENOS

GREEK TEXT, TRANSLATION,
AND COMMENTARY
by

APOSTOLOS KARPOZILOS
and
GEORGIOS FATOUROS

KANAKIS PUBLISHERS

ATHENS 2017

PREFACE

A new edition of the Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos does not really call for an explanation or for that matter a justification, considering the plethora of publications in the field of Byzantine Studies, particularly in the recent decades. Among other things this new edition provides a sounder text when compared to the version published some two centuries ago by F.J.G. La Porte du Theil. The discussion, translation, and commentary accompanying the Greek text may also be of interest to both historians and philologists working on the Palaeologan period in light of the fact that the letters of Hyrtakenos have been rather inexplicably underutilized by scholars.

This edition is the outcome of a joint project undertaken several years ago with Professor Georgios Fatouros (Freie Universität Berlin). As often happens, our initial plans changed over time, but the topic of Hyrtakenos remained a priority in our long standing exchange of texts and ideas. It is a great pleasure for me to finally be in a position to present the result of our collaboration - as the saying goes, better late than never.

But I should stress that I alone bear the responsibility for inevitable errors and misjudgments.

It remains to express my sincere thanks to my good friend Professor Ioannis Polemis who read the typescript and gave advice and encouragement. A special debt of gratitude I owe also to Dr. Deborah Brown Kazazis for her meticulous editing and valuable suggestions in making my English more readable. I also thank Dimitris Zazas for his care in seeing the book through the press.

Ioannina
30 June 2017

Apostolos Karpozilos

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Theodoros Hyrtakenos continues even now to be regarded as an obscure writer of the Palaeologan period, although his ninety-three letters together with his rhetorical works were published in the early nineteenth century, at a time when the study of Byzantium had not yet become an academic discipline.[1] Despite his early entry in the bibliography, his correspondence rarely attracted the attention of scholars because as an author he was considered a mediocrity, lacking both literary taste and imagination in his writings.[2] It is true that in his letters Hyrtakenos becomes somewhat monotonous, frequently projecting the image of an impoverished intellectual, an image he consciously

1. F.J.G. La Porte du Theil, *Notices et Extraits d' un volume de la Bibliothèque Nationale, coté MCCIX parmi le manuscrits grecs, et contenant les opuscules et lettres anecdotes de Théodôre l' Hyrtacènien, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, et autres bibliothèques* 5 (1798), 709-744; 6 (1800) 1-48. J.-F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, 248-292; II, Paris 1830, 409-453; III Paris 1831, 1-70.

2. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende der ost-rőmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Munich 1897, 483-485.

cultivated, sometimes to the extreme, in the hope of winning the sympathy of his patrons. But he was not alone in writing letters of petition to the Emperor, the Patriarch, and other powerful men of his day to request financial assistance. In the case of Ioannes Tzetzes, material goods meant nothing, because he refused to become a slave to affluence.[3] But Tzetzes was of course an uncompromising individual, one who refused to accept gifts even from friends as a matter of principle. With Theodoros Hyrtakenos, however, the matter was altogether different.

Like Tzetzes, Hyrtakenos was a teacher, but the pay he received was irregular and never sufficient to sustain him. He complained that he socialized with men of power and wealth but enjoyed none of it. He thus felt that he was unjustly overlooked by his powerful friends and made no secret of his bitterness. Undoubtedly his correspondence presents a special case. Letters that concern personal matters or some kind of request are not a rarity, but they never take up a whole collection.

The suffering of an intellectual who moved in the midst of a circle of prosperous literati is in itself an interesting subject.[4] But this is only one side of the coin. It is also worth considering

3, Epist. 39, 6, Leone, 58: *καὶ ‘ἀρκεῖ μοι μικρά’ προσειπὼν’ ‘καὶ πλειόνων ἀνελευθέρως οὐ κέχρημαι’, ᾑρετησάμην βίον τὸν πενιχρὸν καὶ ἐγγώνιον.* Cf. also Epist. 19,7, Leone, 36: *ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἐλευθερίως μικρά μοι καὶ πλειόνων ἀνελευθέρως οὐ κέχρημαι.*

4. I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines,* Bucarest 6-12 Septembre 1971, I, Bucharest 1974, 69-92.

his network of correspondents, his personal contacts and his friendships, which were based on the teacher-pupil relationship, as well as his ideas and social values, which appear stereotyped and yet at times deviate from the norm to project a contradictory self-image. The issue of the circulation of manuscripts also surfaces in his letters because like many others he borrowed manuscripts and sent his own writings to be read and critiqued. He belonged to a circle of teachers and government officials which we cannot fully identify, but we do know that at times he intervened with high-ranking officials on behalf of his companions. But most telling are the letters about his financial problems and the way he went about making his requests effective. He tried to become witty and somewhat dramatic. At one time his estate stood in ruins; at another, his storage vessels were empty at harvest time, while on other occasions his starving horse was ready to devour him. As a rule he drew his examples from the classics and consequently the day to day events are never described in realistic terms. In this respect he did not differ from the intellectual norms of his time.[5]

Our main source of information concerning the teaching career of Hyrtakenos is the dossier of his ninety-three letters in *Parisinus gr. 1209*, a codex unicus of the fourteenth century written on parchment, which also transmits his rhetorical works. It is unusual that an ordinary teacher (impoverished, as he himself claimed) would aspire to preserve his literary endeavors to pos-

5. Cf. A. Karpozilos, "The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos", *JÖB* 40 (1990) 275-294.

terity.[6] The *Parisinus gr. 1209* may have been an autograph as some marginal notes suggest.[7] If this assumption proves correct then the selection of letters along with the other writings was made by Hyrtakenos himself. But what criteria did he employ for his selection? Most probably he wished to leave an account of his career as a teacher with an eye to being read and publicized. Puzzling though this may seem, his literary output was probably gathered and published not long after his lifetime.

As his family name suggests, he was born in Hyrtake, a place near Kyzikos, probably in the 1260s. About his family and teachers we know next to nothing. Only once did he remark that his parents provided the tuition for his education (Epist. 1, 3-10). As a youth he had met Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist. 46), the son of the grand logothete Georgios Akropolites, most likely as a fellow student. Their friendship, if it ever existed, did not last very long. From other fragmentary inferences we know that he was the owner of a house in Constantinople, large enough to have a stable in order to keep a horse (Epist. 2, 6-7, 9-10, 28-30, 92), and a garden with fig trees (Epist. 14).

He probably came to the attention of the court towards the end of the thirteenth century, if we interpret correctly a *pros-*

6. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit", *ΠΟΛΥΠΛΕΥΡΟΣ ΝΟΥΣ: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Scholz - G. Makris, Munich –Leipzig 2000, 373.

7. P. Caballero Sánchez, "Le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gr. 1209: L'autographe de Théodore Hyrtakènos?", *Byz* 84 (2014) 33-47.

phonema which he composed for Andronikos II.[8] It must have been a special occasion for delivering this speech in the presence of the Emperor. In his address Hyrtakenos praised him for his efforts to combat heresy – alluding to the repudiation of the proposed Union with Rome in December 1282 or perhaps the conclusion of the Arsenite schism sometime after 1284.[9] His *prosphonema* is undoubtedly the earliest extant record of his contacts with the court of Andronikos II. He must have been enlisted as an enthusiastic supporter of the new Emperor at the start of his reign; Andronikos II was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne. It would seem that he continued to have access to the court, because several years later he delivered monodies on the death of the Emperor's wife, Eirene of Montferrat, in 1317, and his son Michael IX in 1320.[10]

The lack of a clear chronological order in his letters makes it difficult to establish their dating with any certainty. Only the first nine letters seem to have been arranged in temporal precedence: the first two were addressed to the Emperor (Andronikos II), the next two (Epist. 3-4) to the Patriarch (Ioannes Glykys), the following three (Epist. 5-7) to the *epi tou kanikleiou* (Nikephoros Choumnos) and the last two (Epist. 8-9) to the *megas logothetes* (Theodoros Metochites). From that point on there is no

8. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 248-253.

9. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σου, βασιλεῦ, δογμάτων ὅσων καὶ οἵων αἱρέσεις, ἡλίκαι τε φληναφίαι καὶ βλασφημίαι ..., *ibid.*, 252.

10. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 254-268; 269-281. A. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden*, Vienna 1994, 255-261.

sequential order in the collection. Some letters, however, appear to have been grouped together because they were written in the same period or because of their subject matter.

A letter addressed to Metochites (Epist. 22) containing the request that Hyrtakenos be exempted from serving in the civil guard seems to be one of the earliest of the collection. It could be dated in the first decade of the fourteenth century. We know that his two letters to Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 3-4) were written during the latter's patriarchate, that is between 1315 and 1319, and his dispatches to Glykys' son Basileios (Epist. 67, 87, 93) date from the same period. Another group (Epist. 75, 83, 88) was written some time after the marriage of the younger Andronikos to Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317), perhaps in the course of 1318.[11] Two other letters (Epist. 54-55) addressed to the *domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos were written on the eve of a campaign against the Turks in Asia Minor. The expedition itself, however, is not mentioned in the historical sources of the period so we cannot date it with any certainty. It probably took place sometime after 1325 because in both letters Kantakouzenos was addressed as μέγας δομέστικος, a title given to him around that time.[12] Letters 16 and 21 addressed to Theodoros Metochites were certainly written after 1321, and the criterion for this date

11. G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", *JÖB* 43 (1993), 222-223.

12. D.M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, Cambridge 1966, 23-24. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228.

is the award of his title in that year.[13] Finally, Epist. 15 dates around 1327-1328 (addressed to Andronikos Palaiologos [*PLP* 21435], governor of Belgrade/Berat in Albania). In other words, the collection extents over a decade, from approximately 1315 to 1328.[14]

The network of his correspondence is relatively small (twenty-nine recipients in total) including the Emperor and his two powerful ministers, Choumnos and Metochites, in addition to high-ranking officials and former students employed in the court. Some of these men are known from other contemporary sources. Letters addressed to Hyrtakenos have not been preserved. Metochites claims the lion's share as an addressee with twenty-one letters which concern more often than not the writer's poverty.[15] The Emperor comes next with fifteen letters, for the most part of a similar content,[16] followed by Choumnos with seven.[17] Among remaining correspondents Konstantinos Loukites, a former student who held the office of *protovestiarios* in the court of the Komnenoi in Trebizond, occupies a special place in his correspondence with seven letters,[18] followed by

13. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228.

14. For the date of Epist. 15, see the discussion in the commentary, pp. 324-325.

15. Epist. 8-9, 11, 16-22, 35-36, 38-39, 57, 62, 65-66, 74, 81, 90.

16. Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 58-59, 64, 75, 83-84, 88-89, 92.

17. Epist. 5-7, 28, 77, 86, 91.

18. Epist. 37, 40-41, 56, 73, 78, 85.

Nikephoros Metochites, also a former student who received four letters addressed (Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71). He sent three letters to his other prominent student Basileios Glykys, son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 67, 87, 93).

His addressees were by and large government officials, some holding important positions in the imperial court, who could mediate with the Emperor in support of Hytrakenos's various petitions. There are only a few men of the cloth among his recipients and they do not figure prominently in his correspondence. In fact, he forwarded only two letters to the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (Epist. 3-4) to let him know that he had tried to visit him twice within two weeks but was not allowed to enter his residence. When he needed to approach the Patriarch, for instance, in trying to secure monastic property as a *charistikion*, he turned to the patriarch's son Basileios to intervene on his behalf (Epist. 67). Other clerical recipients held secretarial positions in the Church hierarchy. But his letters to them concern only routine matters and small favours.

He addressed the various officials in a personal style and direct way without the customary greetings and introductions. Presumably some of these men were friends and former students so he could dispense with formalities. He frequently employed the theme of friendship, especially when he wrote to them (Epist. 12,2; 37,20; 41,2). But the immediate issue was usually to ask a favour while simultaneously reminding them that they were indebted to him. There is no evidence that he ever reciprocated in some way for the help or gifts he received. But for the most part his letters were not about friendship. One has the

impression that he was continuing an ongoing discussion of his case pending settlement in the imperial court. For a poor intellectual he nevertheless appears well connected with officialdom. After all, his school was attended by students sponsored by the government who later served in the imperial court as *notarioi* and in other similar positions. And yet his involvement with officialdom cannot be clearly defined. For one thing, we will never know how effective his well-composed letters were, or whether his requests were ultimately granted.

Considering the bulk of his correspondence, he wrote relatively few letters to the Emperor describing his material privations (Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 59, 64, 84, 89). For all his complaints, Andronikos II once presented him with a horse in recognition of his services, obviously as a teacher (Epist. 1, 6, 9). From this gift, Hyrtakenos developed a somewhat humorous topos in his letters – that his starving horse was threatening to devour him because he could not afford to feed it (Epist. 6,17; 7,20; 10,5; 28,3; 29,19; 30,3). Upon the recommendation of his counselors, the Emperor once even agreed to grant him a land holding (Epist. 20,6), a state subsidy (Epist. 65,10) and at another time, expensive apparel (6,30; 7,33). In his letters, however, Hyrtakenos time and again complained that the privileges which the Emperor had approved had not yet been accorded (Epist. 34, 36). Unfortunately his relationship with the Emperor cannot be further defined or amplified.

By far the largest group of letters in the collection, a total of twenty-one, is addressed to Theodoros Metochites and their subject matter, of course, is Hyrtakenos' perpetual poverty. Meto-

chites, as is well known, held important court positions as the closest adviser of the Emperor in whose presence the latter had occasionally approved the petitions of Hyrtakenos (Epist. 20). The grand logothete had hired him to teach one of his sons (Epist. 19, 35) and had used him to secure a manuscript of Aristotle (Epist. 11). There was certainly a familiarity between the two men, but it went no further than this. Once Hyrtakenos hinted that Metochites owed his brilliant success to the Muses and to the god of learning, Hermes, and as a fellow servant of Hermes, as he put it, he should intervene on his behalf with the Emperor (Epist. 90). In contrast, his seven letters to Nikephoros Choumnos appear somewhat more personal and less restrained in their wording. Perhaps at the time they were written the star of Choumnos had sunk into insignificance. When Choumnos died in 1327 it was Hyrtakenos who was called upon to deliver the funeral oration.[19] Finally, among his remaining correspondents Konstantinos Loukites (*PLP* 15153), a *protovestiarios* in the court of Trebizond, occupies a rather special place in this collection. Hyrtakenos took the time to write him lengthy letters full of classical allusions and in accordance with the rules of epistolography. He felt proud, of course, that his student had embarked upon a brilliant career (Epist. 73, 78). In return Loukites sent him gifts and money and upon one occasion asked him to find a copy of the Odyssey (Epist. 56).

19. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 282-292. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden*, 260-261.

The circumstances under which his letters were written, as was noted above, cannot be established with any certainty since they do not provide concrete hints. His overall poverty was the result of his rich students not remitting their fees (Epist. 8, 22; 38,22; 39,4; 66,2). Though private, his school was attended by students sponsored by the government (Epist. 64, 93). When the support he received from the State for teaching poor students was discontinued, his situation became even more dire. About one-third of his correspondence is taken up by pleas to the Emperor and his ministers to be given an allowance for his services in money and grain. Such letters imply a situation that continued over a long period of time. He seems earnest in his letter to the Emperor when he wrote that he faced famine, which is "the most fearful monster that ever drew breath and like a haughty bull roars against me and mocks me" (Epist. 1,17; cf. also 33, 34, 39). Similar letters may have been written in a period of famine when wheat was scarce and being sold at high prices on the black market. Such a situation recalls the events of the winter of 1306-1307 when Constantinople suffered from famine because Andronikos II had prohibited the cultivation of the fields in Thrace to starve the Catalans and force them to leave the land, a measure that brought about the disruption of the grain supply in the Capital.[20] This possibility should not be excluded as it provides a different and more pragmatic perspective when, for instance, Hyrtakenos asked the Emperor "to shoot his fiery arrows

20. Cf. A. Laiou, "The Provisioning of Constantinople during the Winter of 1306-1307", *Byz* 37 (1967) 91-113.

of gratuitous corn against famine" (Epist. 33) or when he wrote to Metochites that "famine stands before my doorstep and sets ajar the door for death" (Epist. 9).

Be that as it may, his insecure income caused him to consider abandoning his profession and retiring to a monastery on Mount Athos (Epist. 61). Elsewhere he mentions that he ventured to become a farmer but an earthquake destroyed his estate (Epist. 16). He tried to obtain land property as a *pronoiarios* in the region of Nymphaion (Epist. 20) and monastic land (*charistikion*) around Kyzikos (Epist. 67), though we do not know whether his efforts were repaid. He was dissatisfied with the money he earned from his profession and in a letter to Basileios Glykys, dated between 1315 and 1319, he confided that he was contemplating giving up teaching, but the Emperor obliged him to change his plans (Epist. 93,5). It seems that his financial problems were never-ending.

For Hyrtakenos, a salary from the imperial treasury would have meant power and social distinction. It would also have enhanced his position among the circle of literati, among whom distrust, envy and fierce competition were ever present. We will never fully know his actual living conditions, but from the few inferences scattered in his correspondence we can postulate that he did not live, as he professed, on the fringes of poverty. He maintained (at least for a period) a horse (Epist. 2; 6-7; 9-10; 28-30; 92) and was in possession of a library that included the works of church fathers and certainly some classical authors whom he taught in his school (Epist. 30). The kind of gifts he was interested in receiving from his friends were quite expensive, like the special silk garment he expected to receive from Trebizond (Epist. 78,35).[21]

He certainly did not identify with the working class and the uneducated (Epist. 22). His assertion that he envied the labourers who earned more than he did cannot be taken seriously, for this was a traditional cliché.[22] On the contrary his mentality was rather aristocratic and in tune with the intellectual trends of his time. He criticized a letter he received from an Akarnanian because it was written in somewhat plain language and not up to the standards he maintained as an intellectual living in Constantinople, the world's cultural capital (Epist. 50). He thought the reason he had not received a letter for some time from Loukites was due to the latter's living among non-Greeks in Trebizond (Epist. 78,13). Nor does he make any reference to the economic crisis and internal strife that marked the reign of Andronikos II. And when he mentions a contemporary event (preparation of an expedition against the Turks in Asia Minor), he goes back to the time when the Greeks fought against Xerxes (Epist. 54-55). His personal affairs are also described in antique forms, from which he derived his ideas and inspiration.

Hyrtakenos became part of the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia thanks to his classical training. If his fortunes did not

21. Karpozilos, "The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 293.

22. For this topos characteristic is the "Dramation" of Michael Hapluchéir in P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis", Byz 39 (1969) 251-283. Hunger, *Die hohchsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 69-70.

improve as he had dreamed they would as a young man, this was because he never advanced beyond the position of teacher. His professed poverty was probably linked to his humble origins, about which we practically know nothing. The goal of an impecunious scholar was to obtain an appointment in the State apparatus or Church hierarchy. If he failed to receive a post he had to depend on the generosity of a patron, which was an exception in time of crisis.

The social status of the intelligentsia in the fourteenth century has been told and needs no repeating here,[23] and the discussion of this subject has not produce any evidence for the existence of an intellectual proletariat. To be sure, Hyrtakenos and Manuel Philes begged the rich for money and gifts, but the act of asking the aristocracy for a favour does not necessarily make them members of the proletariat.[24] Hyrtakenos' ties with officialdom were limited to old acquaintances from his school. When he went unescorted to visit Ioannes Glykys at his patriarchal residence he knew no one at the gate and as a result he was sent away twice disappointed (Epist. 3-4). There is no evidence that there existed any solidarity among his network of correspondents. He valued hard work and simplicity. He had only words of praise for Alexios Apokaukos, a former student of obscure background, because he studied hard and had no time for the theaters and the hippodrome (Epist. 69). A bad example was Metochites' son, a privileged aristocrat who enjoyed riding horses, music and theatrical spectacles (Epist. 19). If there is an element of social criticism in his correspondence, it is directed towards the rich and the unjust way they treated him (Epist. 8, 66, 77, 81). Those whom he took under his protection and on whose behalf he intervened did not belong to the privileged class, like the medical doctor Baragkatos, a refugee in the Capital (Epist. 21), or Panaretos, a sick priest who on his deathbed requested Hyrtakenos' assistance in receiving a visit by the Patriarch's secretary (Epist. 23). To maintain appearances, he suggested that Metochites purchase from his poor friend Choniates an Aristotle manuscript which he had borrowed and kept for a long time (Epist. 11).

23. Cf. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", 69-92. See also the review article of A. Kazhdan in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982) 83-97.

24. Cf. I. Rosenthal – Kamarinea, "Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV Jahrhunderts anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes", *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, II, Bucharest 1975, 251-258.

Hyrtakenos believed that as a teacher he had been treated unjustly and unfairly by the rich and the administration. He wrote letters of protest and at the end of his career he decided to publish them, perhaps to expose the injustice done to him but also because he thought they were worth reading for their literary merit. In any case, his letters are placed next to Alexios Makrembolites' "Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor"[25] with the only difference that philologists or historians have system-

25. Cf. I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor", *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 187-228.

atically overlooked the writings and thoughts of the impoverished scholar from Hyrtake.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Parisinus gr. 1209 (=P)

Fourteenth century. Codex on vellum of 164 pages numbered in Arabic numerals by a modern hand. There are also eight additional leaves (f. IV = A, f. V = B). Leaves measure 19.8 X 14 cm. Single column of 28-30 (rarely 27) lines.[26]

Six intact quaternions (pp. 1-16, 45-60, 61-76, 77-92, 107-122, 123-138). From four quaternions there is one folio missing at the beginning of the pagination (pp. 17-30, 31-44, 93-106 in all three cases with loss of text and 139-152 without any loss). There is also one quaternion from which two folia are missing (pp. 153-164 with loss of text). Lost are a page between pages 152 and 153 and also the last one, after p. 164. Significantly, the last letter of the collection is transmitted incomplete; one or more leaves may have been lost.

At places the condition of the parchment is marred by holes

26. Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris 1886, 266.

and incisions. Accordingly between p. 28 and 29 only a small portion of the torn out page remains still intact: one can read a few letters. Also between p. 30 and 31 a small piece of the torn out page survives. Between p. 104 and 105 there is a whole page missing. Missing are also two folia: the first, between p. 152 and 153 and the second after p. 164. Ff. IV (=A) and V (=B) are binding leaves taken from a manuscript which contained hymns to the honour of the Theotokos (?); f. IV: inc.: ἀρρήτων ὑπερκοσμίων ἄλλων δεῖ. ὁ νοῦς ὁ θεῖος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ; expl.: μίαν ὑπόστασιν δοὺς γεννῆτορ Χριστόν; F. IV^v: inc.: ἰλίγγοις ὑπέκυψα ὁ ἄθλιος καὶ ἐν σκότει κακίας; expl.: νόμους σωτηριώδεις καταλιπών; V f. : inc.: [ρῆσαι νῦν τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὁ αὐτός. ἱερωτάτης, προφῆτα, ῥίζης ἐβλάστησας; expl.: ἁγνὴ κατανύξεως; f. V^v: inc.:] νέμος σκέπη σου μόνῃ; Expl.: ἡλιακαῖς θείαις...

Contents: 1) pp. 1-36: Θεοδώρου εὐτελοῦς τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμαχήτου (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris 1831, 1-58;

2) pp. 36-44: Ἔκφρασις εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου (ed. Boissonade, *ibid.*, III, 59-70);

3) pp. 45-77: Ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρα ἡμῶν Ἀνίναν τὸν θαυματουργὸν (Boissonade, *ibid.* II, 409-453);

4) pp.77-81: Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα (προσφώνημα in marg.) (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 248-253);

5) pp. 81-90: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγου τοῦ νέου (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 254-268);

6) pp. 90-97: τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίας δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 269-281);

7) pp. 97-104: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ περιποθήτῳ συμπενθέρῳ τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἁγίου αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῶν κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κυρῷ Νικηφόρῳ Χούμνῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (Boissonade, *ibid.*, I, 282-292);

8) pp. 105-164: Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ (the ninety three letters of the present edition). Significantly the last letter of the collection is transmitted incomplete: Epist. 93 [4β΄]; one or more leaves may have been lost. The last written folio of the codex (pp. 163-164) is damaged. At places the condition of the parchment is marred by holes and incisions.

Inks: Dark brown for text; vermilion for titles, initial letters and for the greater part of the marginal notes. Also for initial letters beginning new paragraphs. Ligatures and abbreviations are frequent. In the margins of the manuscript, there is a number of notes in Greek (ἱστορία, θαυμαστέον, ὡραῖον, παροιμία, σημείωσαι etc).

Binding: Red brown leather with the title on the back in gold: THEOD. XYRTAC (sic). On f. I, table of contents in Latin: codex membranaceus saec. 14 scriptus, fine mutilus, quo continentur varia Theodori Hyrtaceni opera, videlicet:

oratio de laudibus S. Virginis Pag.1.

description horti quem possessit s^{ta} Anna, s^{tae} Virginis mater Pag. 36.

oratio in Aninam Thaumaturgum Pag. 45.

oratio ad imperatorem nuncupatoria Pag. 77.

monodia in mortem regis Michaelis Palaeologi Pag.81.
monodia in mortem Irenae Reginae Pag. 90.
Monodia in mortem consoceri Andronici imperatoris Pag. 97.
Pag. 105 sequuntur complures Theodori ad diversos epistolae. floruit 14. saec. imperante Andronico Palaeologo seniore. nondum edita hujusce auctoris scripta, quae tamen ad illudstrandam saeculi 14. historiam plurimum conferre possunt. constat pag. 164. On f. IV and on p. 164 there is a stamp stating BIBLIOTHECAE REGIAE.

Written throughout by the same hand, the manuscript seems to date not long after the lifetime of Hyrtakenos. One could even suggest that it may have been a presentation copy of his to a high dignitary. More recently it has been suggested that the codex could be an autograph of Hyrtakenos because there are a number of marginal notes which elucidate the text to an extent and that only he could have made.[27] But was Hyrtakenos himself the author of the glosses or someone else from his own circle? Autograph manuscripts are rather the exception in letter collections and those that survive are normally dated during the Palaeologan period. In general it cannot be easily resolved which stage of composition a manuscript represents – whether it is a transcript or an authorized version or in the strict sense of the word whether it transmits an αὐτόγραφος γραφή.[28] Be that as it

27. P. Caballero Sánchez, "Le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gr. 1209," 33-47.

28. D. Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autoren Handschriften", *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger,

may, in the case of the *Parisinus gr. 1209* an apostrophe ' along the margins marks systematically the excerpts/quotations made from ancient authors, whereas a series of abbreviated notes point out the mythological references, the stories and the various pithy sayings and maxims with which Hyrtakenos had embelished his writings: ἱστορία (pp. 39, 40, 42, 85, 86, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 105, 106, 114, 116, 132, 140, 160), γνώμη (pp. 99, 102, 135, 151), θαυμάσιον (pp. 50, 67, 71), ὡραῖον (p. 43), παροιμία (pp. 32, 36, 84, 43, 106, 108, 115, 118, 120, 126, 152, 156, 159), εὐχὴ (pp. 50, 161). Spelling errors, erased words and revisions occur seldom. There are only four emendations noted in the entire text of the *Parisinus gr. 1209* and they have been executed by the original scribe. In all four cases the word which was to be replaced is indicated in the margin with the note γράφε and these revisions seem to have originated from Hyrtakenos himself: μυρίων δεινῶν … καὶ συγκυρμάτων: γρ. συναντημάτων (p. 36); τοῦτ' ἦσαν σπαθῶντες: γρ. τρυφῶντες (p. 52); τέμνει μὲν γὰρ γῆς φλέβες: γρ. σχάζει (p. 57); γῆρας ἱκάνει ὁμοίϊον: γρ. τείρει (p. 129) in Epist. 37, 30 in accordance to the Homeric text ἀλλά σε γῆρας τείρει ὁμοίϊον, *Il.* 4, 314.

Another matter worth mentioning is the inclusion in the collection of a first draft of a letter which Hyrtakenos had planned to send to the Emperor (Epist. 92) and its final version after he

Darmstadt 1980, 629-644. D. Harlfinger, "Autographa aus der Palaiologenzeit", *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. W. Seibt, Vienna 1996, 43-50.

had expanded and improved it stylistically (Epist. 2).[29] There is no doubt of course that both were written by him. One cannot be sure if the draft found its way in the collection as a stray item or if it was selected by the author himself who was also responsible for the selection and the arrangement of his writings in the codex. On the other hand, the author or for that matter the scribe has failed to number Epist. nr. 41 and in another case he has mistakenly attributed Epist. 76 to the Emperor. But these are minor faults which suggest that the text which transmits the correspondence had undergone little in the way of editing or revision. But in the final analysis, who else could have considered the work of Hyrtakenos so important as to preserve it in a relatively expensive codex made of parchment if not the writer himself or someone from his circle?[30]

The contents of the manuscript fall into two main sections: The first (pp. 1-104), includes the orations, the second his letters (pp. 105-164). The arrangement of the orations must have been made on the basis of their content: the purely religious texts are presented first (pp. 1-77), followed by a *prosphonema* to the Em-

29. The letter collection of Matthaios of Ephesos, preserved in Codex *Vindobonensis Theol. Gr.* 174, transmits also two identical letters, one representing a first draft (Epist. 66) and the other the final version (Epist. 16). In their case, they are considered of course autographa of Matthaios of Ephesos; cf. D. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos*, Berlin 1974, 29; "Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung", 637-638.

30. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit", 373.

peror and a series of monodies (pp. 77-104). Thereafter, follow the collection of the ninety-three letters.

The edition of Francois Jean Gabriel de La Porte du Theil (1742-1815)

F.J.G. La Porte du Theil, a curator of the Bibliotheque Nationale, made little effort to edit his transcription. As a result, the edition of Theodoros Hyrtakenos' correspondence contains several errors and omissions. But what renders his edition to be virtually worthless is a great number of typographical mistakes both in spelling and accentuation.

We have no details concerning the history of the codex, its provenance, previous owners or the circumstances under which it passed into the manuscript collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Akropolites
(Epist. 46)

It concerns Konstantinos Akropolites (*PLP* 520), the son of Georgios Akropolites, to whom Hyrtakenos refers in his letter as if he had known him quite well (1. 3ff). The addressee had a brilliant career first as *logothetes tou genikou* (1282-ca. 1294) and then as *megas logothetes* (1305/06- 1321). About the chronology of the letter there is no indication at all. It seems that the two men had been close friends in their youth, but after the death of Georgios Akropolites (1282) they had drifted apart.

Cf. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note", *DOP* 19 (1965) 249-256.

Alexios Apokaukos
(Epist. 69)

The letter does not contain any specific information concerning Apokaukos life and career (*PLP* 1180), beyond the fact that he had been a good student of Hyrtakenos, endowed with a good memory as to be able to recite Homer by heart. There is, however, an interesting detail which is worth mentioning, although it is clothed in obscure language. As a youth, Hyrtakenos recalls, Apokaukos did not spend his free time in reveling, but he preferred the attendance of religious ceremonies. He also did not visit the imperial court, but he would go there to be only introduced to the Emperors (69, 27-31). This last detail, perhaps, is significant, because it leads us to suppose that Alexios Apokaukos social status allowed him to have access to the palace. Yet both Ioannes Kantakouzenos (Hist., I. 4, p. 25; I. 23, p. 116 ἄνδρα γένους μὲν ἀφανοῦς ὄντα) and Nikephoros Gregoras (*Historia*, VIII. 4, p. 301: οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ τῶν εὐγενῶν ἦν) considered his family background obscure and unimportant.[31] The letter must have been written about the time that Apokaukos was raised to the rank of *parakoimomenos* (June 1321) by Andronikos III. It is a congratulatory letter which Hyrtakenos sent in the hope of securing the good will of his former student.

31. B. Georgiadou, «Καὶ προδότης σαφῆς καθιστάμενος: Σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν κοινωνικὴ προέλευση καὶ ἀπήχηση τοῦ Μεγάλου Δουκὸς Ἀλεξίου Ἀποκαύκου (1281/2-1~345)», *Γ' Πανελλήνιο Ἱστορικὸ Συνέδριο (Μάϊος 1989)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1989, 75-85.

[Andronikos II Palaiologos]
Τῷ βασιλεῖ
(Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 58-59, 64, 75, 83-84, 88-89, 92)

The fifteen letters addressed to the Emperor bear in the superscription the designation τῷ βασιλεῖ and only in one case τῷ κραταιῷ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ (Epist. 53). It should be noted that Epist. 76 was sent to an imperial official and not the Emperor. The designation in the superscription τῷ βασιλεῖ is obviously a scribal error. In most of his letters Hyrtakenos described his financial plight, the denial of his students to pay their tuition, his desperate attempts to secure a government grant, sending petitions for help to the Emperor, the *megas logothetes* and to former students some of whom were high ranking officials. We presume that all fifteen letters were addressed to Andronikos II. Because content and style do not permit any differentiation. Half are somewhat lengthy (Epist. 1-2, 32-34, 53, 88, 92), the other half amount to short notices (Epist. 58-59, 64, 75 83-84, 89). Several bear the exact same *prosphonema* – τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου – yet it is difficult to assign them a chronology. Epist. 34 mentions next to the Emperor a joint Emperor (ζῴης μὲν σύ, βασιλεῦ, συζῴη δὲ βασιλεύς), whom we conclude to be Michael IX, who ruled with his father until his death in 1320. Another three short letters (Epist. 75, 83, 88) accompanied a gift of the fruit pomegranate which Hyrtakenos sent to the palace when Andronikos III married Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317) wishing them soon to have a male heir to the throne (ca. 1318). There is

also another letter addressed to the Emperor (Epist. 92) which is in effect a copy of Epist. 1. This copy can signify one of two things: that Hyrtakenos sent it to Andronikos III changing only slightly the text or that the letter has been simply misplaced in the collection. The presence of two slightly variant texts suggests a stylistic revision which some of the letters of the collection underwent before they were published.

Andronikos Palaiologos
(Epist. 15)

The addressee in the title is designated as cousin of the emperor. It has been proposed that implied is Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos, the son of the *sebastokrator* Konstantinos (*PLP* 21439) and nephew of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, a cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II.[32] If this identification is correct, then Epist 15 is one of the earliest in the collection because the recipient died sometime after 1310. In his letter, however, Hyrtakenos wishes that he could have wings to fly over mountains and sees and come to Albania to be near the addressee. After such niceties he concludes his letter reminding him to send him a horse as he had promised him – for that matter an Albanian horse. In view of these details, it is logical to assume that the recipient was the cousin of the Emperor Andronikos III, governor of Belgrade (Berat) in Albania during 1327-1328, Palaiologos Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas (*PLP* 21435). Hyrtakenos' letter must have been written in 1328, that is during the reign of Andronikos III because the addressee is called in the inscription cousin of the Emperor being implied the younger Andronikos Palaiologos.

32. G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228-229.

Cf. A. Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen (1259-1453)*, Munich 1938, 31.

Bardales
(Epist. 29-30)

An identification of the recipient, a former student of Hyrtakenos, is not possible (*PLP* 2177). He was in the service of a highly placed official and was asked by Hyrtakenos to intervene on his behalf – to help him feed his starving horse, a theme employed in Epist. 29-30 and elsewhere. Perhaps he could be identified with one of the two Bardales' brothers, Ioannes, an *apographeus*, owner of manuscripts and correspondent of Planudes (*PLP* 2182) or Leon, a *protasekretis* (*PLP* 2183), who were certainly contemporaries with Hyrtakenos and maintained close ties with well known personalities of the period in their capacity as government officials and men of letters. According to I. Ševčenko, "Léon Bardales et les juges géneraux", *Byz* 19 (1949) 247-259, esp. 255, n. 5, Leon Bardales was the recipient of Hyrtakenos' letters.

Basileios Glykys
(Epist. 67, 87, 93)

Only Epist. 87 specifically mentions the full name of the recipient in the superscription. The other two are simply addressed to «the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys". But there is little doubt that these were as well addressed to him. Basileios had been a student of Hyrtakenos, and this is mentioned at some length in all three. In fact it was this teacher – student relationship that Hyrtakenos tried to exploit. In Epist. 67 he asked him to help him to become holder of one of the many small monasteries in the region of Kyzikos, a request that he had already submitted to his father, the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys, but had not yet received an answer. Glykys's efforts to help his teacher proved fruitless (we assume in connection with his desire to receive a monastery as *charistikion*) and on this occasion was written Epist. 87 in which Hyrtakenos asked him again for his help. At another time he asked Glykys to secure him with the help of the Patriarch an imperial *siteresion* in return for his teaching (Epist. 93). It seems that during this period Hyrtakenos had planned to give up his profession in order to enter the monastic life, but the Emperor had ordered him to continue to educate the youth. As to the actual dating of the letters there is little evidence beyond the fact that all three were written during the patriarchate of Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319). It is quite significant that the last letter of the collection (Epist. 93) dates from this period. But as we have pointed out the letters of Hyrtakenos have not been arranged in strict chronological order.

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς», *ΕΕΒΣ* 41 (1974) 347-353.

Doukaites
(Epist. 12)

The identification of this person remains unclear. By this name we know a correspondent of the Patriarch Gregorios Kyprios (*PLP* 5668), a companion of Theodoros Metochites during an embassy to the Serbian court in 1298 (*PLP* 5669) and the addressee to whom Hyrtakenos introduced a certain priest in need of support (*PLP* 5670).

Cf. D. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, 205.

Galesiotes
(Epist. 52)

The addressee must be identified with Georgios Galesiotes (*PLP* 3258), the *protekdikos* (ca. 1310-1334) and *sakelliou* (1334?-1357) tes Megales Ekklesias, a correspondent of Manuel Gabalas, Georgios Oinaiotes and Theodoros Xanthopoulos, author of several works and a protégé of Georgios Kyprios. Hyrtakenos called him most wise and obviously valued his literary judgment. About the poetic work he had sent him earlier requesting his opinion and

suggestions we have no information at all. But perhaps it is the same work as the one he sent to Konstantinos Loukites – an enkomion to a philosopher composed in two hundred and fifty verses (Epist. 37.31-32). The date of composition of the letter cannot be established – perhaps it was written sometime after 1310.

S. Kourouses, «Ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία καὶ ἡ πρώιμος σταδιοδρομία τοῦ πρωτεκδίκου καὶ εἶτα σακελλίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Γεωργίου Γαλησιώτου (1278/80-1375;)», *Ἀθηνᾶ* 75 (1974-1975) 335-374, esp. 373.

Ioannes Glykys
(Epist. 3-4)

The recipient is the Patriarch Ioannes XIII Glykys (*PLP* 4271), whom Hyrtakenos twice tried to visit in the patriarchal residence but without success, as he recounts in Epist. 3. The front entrance was closed and he could not go up the stairs of the building. He came back two weeks later to visit him but he was denied the entrance. The second letter was evidently sent in view of his failure to secure an audience and in order to underline his wish to communicate with the Patriarch if not in person at least in writing. Both letters date from the period of Glykys' patriarchate (1315-1319).

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς», 297-405.

Ioannes Kantakouzenos
(Epist. 54-55)

The two letters were written in the eve of a military campaign against the Turks in Asia Minor headed by the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos (*PLP* 10973). Hyrtakenos took the opportunity to send in writing his best wishes for a victorious expedition. In his second letter he repeats the same theme as in the first – the grand domestic will put the enemy to flight – but in greater length and in a more laudatory tone. The two letters do not disclose any significant details about this campaign which is not recorded in any other contemporary source. In view of the silence of the sources (including the history of Ioannes Kantakouzenos) it is more likely that the expedition never took place or if it was launched it had ended in a disaster. Actually Hyrtakenos wrote about the great victories he expected to hear when the armies will cross the Hellespont and the need to have a second Homer to record them – he did not mention any victorious events. The title of the grand domestic, which appears not only in the superscription of the two letters, but also in their text, was awarded to Kantakouzenos during the civil war of the two Andronikoi, that is around 1325, which is a terminus post quem for the chronology of the two letters.

D.M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, Cambridge 1966, 23-24, con-

nected the two letters with a military expedition against the Osmanlis in Bithynia in 1325, which Ioannes Kantakouzenos led in his capacity as grand domestic. In an earlier article D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos", *DOP* 27 (1973) 40 had proposed that the actual draft of the two letters took place between the years 1325-1327, that is during the brief joint reign of Andronikos II and Andronikos III or even later in 1329 when Kantakouzenos fought against the Turks at the battle of Pelekanos. In both letters Hyrtakenos mentions the βασιλεῖς to whom Kantakouzenos was expected to hand over his victories, but his reference alone does not help us to establish a date: δούλην τὴν Περσίδα παραστήσειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι (Epist. 54, 23); ζυγῷ δουλείας ὑποζευγνύντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν (Epist. 55, 37).

Konstantinos Loukites
(Epist. 37, 40-41, 56, 73, 78, 85)

The seven letters addressed to Konstantinos Loukites (*PLP* 15153) in Trebizond occupy a rather special place in this collection. Loukites, a Macedonian by origin may have left the Queen of Cities to settle in the Greek Empire of the Pontus at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, possibly in 1301.[33] The year

33. From a letter of Gregorios Chioniades to Konstantinos Loukites written in or shortly after September 1301 it is concluded that Loukites had accompanied Alexios II of Trebizond in a campaign against the Turks in the region of Kerasous. I.B. Papadopoulos, «Γρηγόριος ὁ

of his settlement there is significant, because it provides us with one of the earliest chronological indication regarding Hyrtakenos' school. At any rate, Loukites must have began his career there first as *protonotarios* then advancing to the office of *protovestiarios* (1330-1336). His involvement in the political and cultural life of Trebizond is attested by other contemporary sources that relate more directly to the history of the Greek State of Pontus. Hyrtakenos' letters however do not contain any tangible events that would allow us to place them within a given period. His first letter to him may be Epist. 41 because he complaints that he had not seen him and not corresponded with him for a very long time.

Yet, Loukites seem to have maintained his contacts in Constantinople, especially with his family and relatives. He had entrusted his messages and the management of his business to a certain Paul (*PLP* 22085), who, as far as we can tell from Hyrtakenos' correspondence, he served as his emissary on at least two occasions (Epist. 37,9 and 56,41). On both occasions Paul made the trip from Trebizond to Constantinople and back by sea, which was the normal way to make the journey. The shipwreck of a cargo ship departing from Trebizond and the drowning of Anemas who was bringing gifts for Hyrtakenos from Loukites is mentioned in Epist. 40 and in its follow up Epist. 37. At any rate, about Paul's first trip to the Capital we have no de-

Χιονιάδης καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτοῦ,» *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* 1 (1927) 176-177, 196-197. D. Pingree, "Gregory Chioniades", *DOP* 18 (1964) 141-143.

tails at all. But on his way back, he carried Epist. 37 in which Hyrtakenos asked Loukites to send him a black coat with a fox-fur lining together with a black silk robe (Epist. 37.23-24). As an *antidoron* Hyrtakenos sent him a poetic work dedicated to a philosopher (a contemporary of his?) which he composed in two hundred fifty verses. This opuscule, however, does not seem to have survived. At another of his trips, Paul brought from Loukites to Hyrtakenos twelve *nomismata* of gold. On this trip, Paul had been commissioned to buy for Loukites certain items that were probably not easily obtainable in the markets of Trebizond. Loukites first and foremost wanted to buy a copy of Homer's Odyssey and expected that Hyrtakenos would assist Paul in finding a good copy. He wanted also to buy incense, musk and fish roe (Epist. 56,49-53).[34] But from Hyrtakenos' reply we learn that there was barely enough time for finding in Constantinople a copy of the Odyssey, because Paul had to sail back soon. As for incense, Hyrtakenos found only one liter and no musk at all. Fish roe, likewise could not be found in Constantinople, because mullets (κέφαλοι) were not fished that particular season. Was it just an accident that such goods as incense, musk and fish roe were not available at all or their scarcity reflects the over all economic situation of the Capital at this particular time?

34. When the sea was stormy in Trebizond and fish could not be caught, at Loukites' time fish roe was brought from the land of the Chazars; cf. A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*, St. Petersburg 1897, 133, 7-9: τῆς θαλάττης ἀγριουμένης, ἰχθῦς μὲν οὐκ ἦν εὑρεῖν θαλαττίους, πᾶν δὲ γένος ταριχευτῶν ἐκ Χαζάρων ἠγμένων παρῆν.

Be that as it may, in Epist. 73 Hyrtakenos praises the writing style of his former student and his professional success in Trebizond – this might be in fact one of the earliest letters of Hyrtakenos to Loukites. Then follows a period of silence and a letter of complaints that he has been forgotten (Epist. 78), reminding his former student of his debt to him as a teacher and bringing up as an example Alexander of Macedon and his dedication to his teacher. At the end he asked him to send him a dress as a gift, a *kamcha* called in Persian. The last letter in this group is Epist. 85 in which he acknowledged the arrival of a letter which revived his spirits at a time he had felt dejected. The seven letters cannot be dated with any certainty, but they may have been written around 1318 or even earlier.

G. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 224-226

Manuel
(Epist. 79)

An identification of the recipient (*PLP* 16734), a judge (κριτής) is not possible. Hyrtakenos was obviously involved in a lawsuit and asked the judge to resolve the case in the best possible way.

[Nikephoros Choumnos]
(Epist. 5-7, 28, 77, 86, 91)

All seven letters are addressed τῷ κανικλείου, but there is no doubt at all that implied is Nikephoros Choumnos, who was raised to the office of the «prefect of the scriptorium» around 1295 and kept it to the end of his life in 1327 (*PLP* 30961).

Epist. 5-7 were written a short while after the publication of Choumnos' discourse «On the Soul» in which he attacked the teachings of Plato and Plotinus creating a considerable sensation in the intellectual circles of the Capital by the force of his arguments. The discourse, as it becomes clear from Epist. 5, was presented for the first time by Choumnos before a scholarly audience in which Hyrtakenos was also present. His three letters to Choumnos supposedly reflect the comments and the discussions that ensued after the lecture. It was agreed that such a work should be copied and distributed so that it may be preserved to posterity. Hyrtakenos grasped the opportunity to write him first in order to prove not only his interest in this philosophical treatise but also his loyalty to him.

Epist. 6 presents a continuation of No. 5: Choumnos sent to Hyrtakenos his work to be copied. Yet he kept the manuscript longer than it was probably agreed thus prompting a complaint on the part of the author. Epist. 6 is a response to Choumnos' complaint. His excuse for being overdue is not very convincing. Yet he was ready to return the manuscript and even asked Choumnos to send a trustworthy person to come and take it back. Epist. 7 deals essentially with the same subject as Epist. 6:

Hyrtakenos has read the discourse «On the Soul» by Choumnos and is convinced of his superiority over Plato and Plotinus. However, the dating of this work has not been yet established with any certainty. J. Verpeaux has suggested the period between 1315-1319, supporting this chronology on the basis of Hyrtakenos' correspondence, which he believes that it covers in its totality the period of Glykys' patriarchate. So he proposed for this work as well as for the other philosophical treatises of Choumnos a general dating around the year 1315 without any proof.

The second part of Epist. 6 is about a horse that was given to him by the Emperor and which he could no longer afford to feed. The situation of this starving horse has been described in a great number of letters and it has been developed into a topos by Hyrtakenos (cf. also Epist. 7, 28). Interestingly enough from Epist. 6-7 we learn that Hyrtakenos had access to the imperial court in his capacity as a teacher and the fact that the Emperor took a personal interest in him (Epist. 7,35ff) implies that he enjoyed some recognition.

Yet the situation he describes in Epist. 77 is different. The cause of his hardships is that he does not receive any support from his students, although they were rich and could afford to give him a salary. He, therefore, proposes to Choumnos to secure for him imperial patronage.

The last two letters (Epist. 86, 91) deal with two works that Hyrtakenos borrowed from Choumnos of which only one can be identified. The first was returned accompanied by Epist. 86, in which Hyrtakenos says that he shared the text of Choumnos

with others. The second concerns a discourse dedicated to Moses. Verpeaux identified this with an unedited work in which Choumnos mentions the splendor of the Revelation that God presented to Moses. This work has been dated also around 1315.[35]

J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos. Homme d' État et humaniste byzantin (ca 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris 1959, 55, 124.

Nikephoros Metochites
(Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71)

Son of the grand logothete Theodoros Metochites and close associate of Andronikos III Palaiologos (*PLP* 17986). In his youth he had been a student of Hyrtakenos and Epist. 19 addressed to his father perhaps concerns his progress at our author's school.[36] There are no chronological indications in these four letters which deal with various requests of Hyrtakenos: the granting of a cloak (Epist. 49), a shaped cap (Epist. 71), the mediation on his behalf for some favour (Epist. 44) and the like. Stressed in the

35. Verpaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, 18, no. VII, and 55.

36. Nikephoros Metochites was taught also by Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia*, I, 309,15-17: ἐδίδασκον γὰρ τόν τε υἱέα καὶ ἣν ἔφαμεν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, τὰ τῶν θύραθεν καὶ ἡμετέρων βιβλίων αἰνιγματώδη καὶ γρίφα διαλευκαίνων.

letters is also the philosophical training of the addressee, although there is nothing concrete mentioned pertaining to his interests or his intellectual activities. Epist. 71 bears in the superscription besides the name of the addressee the designation «to the son of the grand logothete", which may imply a chronology posterior to his father's nomination to office in 1321.

Nikolaos
(Epist. 27)

The addressee is otherwise unknown (*PLP* 20391). He was about to take up the monastic habit and join a community of monks which had broken off from the body of the Church. Hyrtakenos calls this group αὐτόνομοι and αὐθαίρετοι and advised Nikolaos not to join it. There is no other evidence about the identity of this monastic community which is also described as a faction (κόμμα 1. 6). Perhaps Hyrtakenos referred to an Arsenite faction which was not pacified with the established Church at the time he wrote his letter.

Opsikianos
(Epist. 45)

The recipient cannot be certainly identified (*PLP* 21209). Yet there are at least two individuals by this name who lived about this period – Demetrios (*PLP* 21212) and Ioannes Opsikianos (*PLP*

21213). The first is known to us from a series of letters addressed to him by Michael Gabras and seems to have occupied an important government position.[37] On the other hand, Ioannes Opsikianos was a correspondent of Georgios Oinaiotes and seems to have possessed a good library. Among its holdings there were included two works of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys for which Oinaiotes showed a particular interest.[38]

Patrikiotes
(Epist. 47)

Hyrtakenos had asked the addressee for a supply of grain and he in return referred him to a certain Patzopoulos (*PLP* 22047), who in the meantime died. Patrikiotes may be identified with Theodoros Patrikiotes (*PLP* 22077), with whom Michael Gabras maintained regular correspondence. From Gabras letters we learn that Patrikiotes was a government official responsible for the collection of taxes (*apographeus*, ἐξισωτής) in Constantinople in the period 1319/20-1342,[39] a fact to which also Hyrtakenos seems to allude in his letter (l. 9-10), and had some scholarly interests, especially for Plutarch. A certain Patrikiotes appears also

37. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, p. 39.
38. E. Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung*, [Annales Academie Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, XIV, 2], Helsinki 1915, p. 74.
39. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, p. 63.

as a patron of Manuel Philes.[40] It is possible that we are dealing with one and the same person, the tax official Patrikiotes, whose patronage and support had sought not only Philes and Gabras, but also Hyrtakenos.

Pepagomenos
(Epist. 48, 51)

An earlier letter of Hyrtakenos to the addressee (*PLP* 22341), whom he knew as a youth, had caused a misunderstanding, on account of which Epist. 48 was written as an apology. The text makes it clear however that Hyrtakenos was considerably older than him. The second letter (epist. 51) – addressed to the same Pepagomenos(?) – was accompanied by a work of Hyrtakenos dedicated to the honour of the Theotokos. We assume that Hyrtakenos had sent his oration Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμαχήτου (Boissonade III, 1-58). The addressee cannot be identified with any certainty, for this is a rather common family name during this period (cf. *PLP* 22341). But it is worth mentioning that among the addressees of Michael Gabras figures the name of a certain Georgios Pepagomenos (*PLP* 22357), who may be identified with the *megas ekklesiarches* Pepagomenos to whom Gabras had sent one of his works. Yet Hyr-

40. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, I, p. 189, 202-208, 210-213, 226, 259, 331.

takenos' addressee does not appear to have been an ecclesiastic, therefore this identification proposed in *PLP* 22341 seems rather unlikely.

Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, pp. 41-42; P. Schreiner, "Eine griechische Grabinschrift aus dem Jahr 1186 in Corridonia. Mit einem Anhang über die Pepagomenoi", *JÖB* 20 (1971) 158, No. 12.

Phialites
(Epist. 24, 25)

His identity cannot be otherwise established. From Epist. 24 we conclude that he was employed as a secretary in the imperial court. Perhaps he had been a student of Hyrtakenos. On another occasion Phialites requested some unspecified work of Hyrtakenos which he revised it before he sent it (Epist. 25). Among the correspondents of Michael Gabras figures the name of a certain Theodoros Phialites who was interested in the works of Lucian (*PLP* 29715). Fatouros, "Die Briefe des Michael Gabras", I, p. 64, II, 273-275, 308, 641.

Phokas
(Epist. 10, 26, 60, 72)

The addressee is otherwise unknown (*PLP* 30212). He was a stu-

dent of Hyrtakenos who reminded him (Epist. 10) that he should sustain him in his old age like the storks sustain their parents – a reference to the old topos of *antipelargosis*. The addressee was obviously employed in the imperial chancellery because Hyrtakenos sent two writing-pens made of reed to be used by the Emperor for signing his decrees (Epist. 26). Perhaps he can be identified with Konstantinos Phokas (*PLP* 30233), a correspondent of Michael Gabras.[41] The association of Hyrtakenos' addressee with Konstantinos Phokas seems probable because both men were government officials employed in the imperial court (Epist. 26,1ff, 72,2-4; Cf. also Epist. 254, 257 of Gabras, ed. Fatouros, I, 51; II, 410-411, 4 13).

Skleros
(Epist. 23)

The identity of the addressee cannot be established. From the superscription we learn that he was a γραμματικὸς πατριαρχικός. Fatouros suggested that he may be identified with Ioannes Skleros (*PLP* 26113) to whom Michael Gabras addressed two letters dated about 1308.

Fatouros, Die Briefe des Michael Gabras, I, p. 48; II, 62, 81. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*, Vienna 1976, 111.

---

41. Cf. also S.I. Kourouses, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἶτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2 -1355/60)*, Athens 1972, 35, n. 6.

Theodoros Metochites

(Epist. 8-9, 11, 16-22, 35-36, 38-39, 57, 62, 65-66, 74, 81, 90)

The letters addressed to Theodoros Metochites (*PLP* 17982) designate him in the superscription either with his name and the title of *megas logothetes*, an office he held in the years 1321-1328, or simply with his title only as in the case of Epist. 8, 35, 38, 57, 81, 90. In the latter case, the question arises whether these letters were addressed to another grand logothete, for instance, Konstantinos Akropolites who was raised to this dignity in 1294 after the death of Theodoros Mouzalon and kept it until 1321. Yet, there is only one letter addressed to Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist. 46) and the impression one gets from its content is that the two men from early on they had drifted apart despite Hyrtakenos' attempt to revive their friendship. It seems that behind the title of the grand logothete at the heading of this group of letters (Epist. 8, 35, 38, 57, 81, 90) implied is Theodoros Metochites. The compiler of the collection – most likely Hyrtakenos himself – thought proper to address Metochites with his prestigious administrative title, even if his letters to him predated his advancement. Besides at the time Hyrtakenos was preparing for publication his collection of writings there was no other grand logothete besides Metochites.

But were they all written after Metochites was named to his office in 1321? In fact, with his title he is mentioned only in Epist. 16 and 21, an indication that the two letters were written for certain after 1321.[42] Those, however, that Hyrtakenos wrote in connection with the teaching of Metochites' children date much earlier. These letters could be placed chronologically around 1310 (Epist. 19, 35, 62, 74).[43] For the rest of his correspondence there are no hints that would provide us with a relatively secure chronology.

The main subject of the letters is, of course, Hyrtakenos' perpetual poverty and his constant efforts to secure imperial patronage because his pupils and their parents did not pay him for his services. (Epist. 8, 38, 39, 66, 81). Time and again he described his material privations – during a harvest he asked for grain because his vessels were empty and the lack of bread had taken hold of him (Epist. 8, 36, 39). He often complained that those who had attained good fortune had overlooked him (Epist. 57). The fact that he worked for the rich but without getting any benefit frustrated him. He contemplated therefore to change his profession, an idea that briefly is mentioned in Epist. 9, but which recurs also in subsequent letters. Whether the situation described in Epist. 16, according to which, he became a farmer

42. Epist. 74 seems to date also after 1321 because Hyrtakenos reminds Metochites that his predecessors in the office, Mouzalon and Choumnos, had secured an imperial *siteresion* to two other teachers Chalkomatopoulos and Hyaleas.

43. The sons of the grand logothete, Nikephoros (*PLP* 17986) and Demetrios Metochites (*PLP* 17980), were adults in the 1320's and in contact with Andronikos III when he was scheming against his grandfather. A third son, Michael (*PLP* 17985), had become a provincial governors in Melenikon by 1326 and his brother Demetrios likewise in Serres in 1328. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 221-222.

until he faced bankruptcy, should be taken at face value we cannot be sure. The story dramatizes actually the same situation that is repeated invariably in most of his letters to powerful friends. In Epist 20 he asked the grand logothete to help him obtain a land holding in the region of Nymphaion. He was probably the owner of some land if we interpret correctly some of the inferences he makes in his correspondence – that at the time of harvest when everybody is busy reaping the fruits of his labour, his vessels are empty (Epist. 8-9, 36). But the help he begs for is not as a farmer who faces famine, but as an impoverished teacher.

Metochites as a fellow servant of Hermes, as he put it, should intervene on his behalf with the Emperor (Epist. 90). Yet, the grand logothete appears to have helped him on more than one occasion (Epist. 20, 36, 65). His petition, however, to be exempted from military service as he was drafted to serve under an uncivilized decurion is both curious and problematic (Epist. 22). If he was serious about his draft then he was not yet an old man destitute and in need of support from students and friends alike as he describes himself in a number of his letters.

Hyrtakenos' intellectual pursuits and interests seldom come up in his correspondence, save only those instances in which he requests a specific work in order to read or copy it (cf. Epist. 5-7, 86, 91). Yet one is not sure whether it was out of interest or as a way to flatter and eventually gain the favour of the author. In the case of Metochites there is only one instance in which he asked for the sending of an unspecified work which he had heard and wanted to read (Epist. 18). Nevertheless we have no details

that would help us to establish the kind of relationship that existed between the two men. Whatever their relationship might have been, Metochites had also asked Hyrtakenos to secure for him a copy of a work of Aristotle that belonged to a certain Choniates (Epist. 11). In the very few letters of the collection that do not deal with the personal problems of Hyrtakenos belongs also Epist. 21. The letter was sent to Metochites on behalf of a certain physician named Baragkatos, whose son-in-law had abandoned his wife because he had not received a dowry as it was promised to him.

Ἀνδρὶ εὐγενεῖ Ἀκαρνᾶνι ῥήτορι καὶ σοφῷ (Epist. 50)

Addressee unknown. Hyrtakenos complained that this Akarnanian "noble» sent him a simple and pedestrian message, written even by someone else's hand, and that it was not befitting a scholar living in the Queen of Cities to receive such letters.

Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοψάλτῃ (Epist. 14)

Addressee unknown. His title suggests that he belonged to the clergy of the imperial palace. About his rank in the church hierarchy, as a δομέστικος τῶν ψαλτῶν, see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 143-152, 190,4, 308,22, 338, 356,19. K.M. Rhalle, «Περὶ

τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου», *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 11 (1936) 66-69. J. Darrouzès, *Rechereches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l' église Byzantine*, 298, n. 1, 539.

Τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων
(Epist. 31)

Addressee unknown. Perhaps to be identified with Georgios Chatzikes (*PLP* 30724) who was raised to this office around the year 1321 and earlier had served as *prokathemenos tou koitonos* (1305-1310). The Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319), who also occupied the same office but at an earlier time (1282-1295/6) does not come into question. Otherwise the letter would document the relations of the two men before 1300. The addressee was asked to persuade Radenos (*PLP* 23984), a former student of Hyrtakenos and at the time an official at the imperial court, to grant his teacher a garment. The addressee was obviously a colleague of Radenos at the court and probably of the same age.

For the office of the *epi ton deeseon*, the official responsible for collecting the petitions addressed to the Emperor, see Pseudo - Kodinos, ed. J. Verpeaux, 162,9, 183, 24-27. 301,2. R. Guilland, "Le maitre des requêtes", *Byz* 35 (1965) 97-118, esp. 109-110.

Τῷ μεγάλῳ διοικητῇ
(Epist. 43)

The letter may have been addressed to Theodoros Kabasilas (*PLP* 10090) who held this office from 1316 to at least until 1327. Hyrtakenos' statement about his old age - an often repeated theme in his correspondence (cf. Epist. 67 to Basileios Glykys) - coincides with the period during which Theodoros Kabasilas held this post. A high government official with literary tastes, Theodoros Kabasilas corresponded with Nikephoros Choumnos, Michael Gabras and Manuel Gabalas.

S. Kourouses, «Ὁ μέγας διοικητὴς Θεόδωρος Καβάσιλας καὶ ἡ εἰς Ἀνδρόνικον Β′ (+ 1332) μονῳδία αὐτοῦ», *ΕΕΒΣ* 42 (1975-1976) 408-428, esp. 410. For the office of the *megas dioiketes*, see Pseudo - Kodinos, ed. J. Verpeaux, 138,36, 301,31, 306,6. Yet, his title in the later period was devoid of any functions, *ibid.*, 185,15, although in the early Palaeologan period he served as a tax official.

Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους
(Epist. 13, 61)

Probably to be identified with Isaak Protos of Mount Athos during the years 1316-1345 (*PLP* 8261).[44] The two letters were writ-

44. Cf. J. Darrouzès, "Liste des prôtos de l'Athos", *Le millénaire du Mont Athos (963-1963), Étude et Mélanges*, I, Chevetogne 1963, 423-426.

ten on two different occasions and in a different spirit and style. In the first Hyrtakenos acknowledged with warmth and gratitude the receipt of various gifts sent to him by the addressee. In the second he announced his intention becoming a monk in the Holy Mountain. He would settle there if he would find a resting place, otherwise he will stay at home. A date cannot be postulated for the two letters.

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου
(Epist. 63, 68, 70, 82)

Hyrtakenos considered him as the only one who could convince the Emperor to put him in the payroll of the government as a teacher (Epist. 63) and at least on one occasion the addressee must have responded to his request (Epist. 68). The letters focus on Hyrtakenos' financial plight and yet they do not contain any chronological indications except for the last which was written on new year's day (Epist. 82). There is only one official that comes into question – Ioannes Kanaboures, holder of this title around the year 1315 (*PLP* 10865). He was a correspondent of Michael Gabras (Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, 49-50; II, 73, 75, 107, 191) and probably a patron of Manuel Philes who dedicated to him a series of epigrams.

For the office of the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou*, see Pseudo - Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 139,6, 165,1-4, 186,13-17.

Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ κοιτῶνος
(Epist. 80)

There are two officials that held this office during this period: Georgios Chatzikes (*PLP* 30724), a correspondent of Michael Gabras (Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, I, 40; II, 44, 82, 428, 497), who occupied this office in the period 1305-1310, and the eunuch Michael Kallikrenites (*PLP* 10371), who served in the same capacity at a later period from 1321 until 1330/1331. The latter was a faithful supporter and an οἰκεῖος of Andronikos II. He also corresponded with Gabras, (Fatouros, I, 56; II, 84, 356). From the contents of the letter we cannot decide which of the two was the addressee.

For the title and functions of the *prokathemenos tou koitonos*, see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 139,5; 186,8-12, 301,21-22.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Akropolites, *Epistole*: *Constantino Acropolita Epistole*, ed. R. Romano, Napoli 1991.

BS: *Byzantinoslavica*

Byz: *Byzantion*

BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

Choniates, *Epistulae*: *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou, [CFHB, Series Berolinensis – XLI], Berlin 2001.

CPG: E. Leutsch – F.G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1839-1851; rp. Hildesheim 1958.

EEBΣ: *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*

Gabras, *Briefe*: G. Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras*, [Wiener Byzantinistische Studien – X/1-2], Vienna 1973.

Hotop: A. Hotop, *De Eustathii Proverbiis*, Leipzig 1888.

Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Literatur*: H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols., [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.5.1], Munich 1978.

JÖB: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

Karathanasis: D. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1936.

Michael Italikos: *Michel Italikos Lettres et Discours*, ed. P. Gautier, Paris 1972.

ODB: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. A. Kazhdan, New York – Oxford 1991.

Planudes, *Epistulae*: *Maximi monachi Planudis Epistulae*, ed. P.A. Leone, [Classical and Byzantine Monographs, 18], Amsterdam 1991.

PLP: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna 1976-1996.

Pseudo-Kodinos: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966.

Salzmann: E. Salzmann, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Libanios*, Tübingen1910.

Strömberg: R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs*, Göteborg 1954.

Synesius, *Epistolae*: *Synesii Cyrenensis Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya, Rome 1979.

Tzetzes: *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, ed. P.L.M. Leone, Leipzig, B.G. Teubner, 1972.

Verpeaux: J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos: Home d' Etat et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris 1959.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

α′
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. ἐγώ, παιδιόθεν ἐκδεδομένος μουσείοις ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι προσῳδίαις, οὔτ' ᾔδειν ὅ τί ποτ' εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὅ τι τοὔνομα βεβούλητο ταύταις, ᾤμην δὲ προσόδους καὶ κέρδη. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ παιδευόμενος ἔχαιρον καὶ σπουδῇ προσεῖχον αὐταῖς, αὐτός ἐγώ τε καραδοκῶν ὀνήσεσθαι καὶ οὓς προσεδόκων παιδεύσειν. ἐπαιδευόμην δὲ καὶ σιτοδείαν, οὐδ' αὐτὴν ταύτην εἰδὼς οἵα τις οὔθ' ὅπως ποτ' ἔστιν ἔχουσα φύσιν. τρεφομένῳ γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀπόνως οὐκ ἔνδειάν μοι σίτου καὶ σπάνιν, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἐπῄει λογίζεσθαι, πρᾶγμα δέ τι κοῦφον καὶ ῥᾷον ὑπενεγκεῖν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν εἰδὼς τάχ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ βιβλίου θᾶττον ἀπήλειψα καὶ τὸ σύμφορον προενόησα.

Νυνὶ δ' εἰς τοὔθ' ἡλικίας ἐληλακὼς καὶ γέρων γεγονὼς σιτοφάγος ἐπιλέλησμαι μὲν προσῳδιῶν, συνίσχημαι δὲ σιτοδείᾳ· καὶ τό γε πρὸ πείρας δοκοῦν κοῦφον εἰς πεῖραν ἧκον

1. 15-16 γέρων γεγονὼς σιτοφάγος: cf. Hom. Od. 9, 191

12 εἶ (pro ἢ) LPdTheil

1. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. From childhood I was entrusted to be trained in prosody in school, not knowing what prosody was all about nor what were the names ascribed to the different meters, for I was thinking only about earnings and profits coming from them. I was therefore cheerful while in training, devoting myself to their study with zeal, awaiting a benefit for both myself and those that I would teach. But I was also learning the meaning of starvation, not knowing what she is like nor how she was as a creature. Because being brought up by my parents without any stress I was not in need of bread nor had I faced any scarcity of food, which means that I thought then that starvation was a light matter and easy to endure. For had I known better possibly I would have erased at once the name of starvation from the book and looked after my own interest.

Now having reached this age and becoming an old man accustomed to eat bread, I have forgotten the prosodies being taken hold by famine. And that which appeared a light matter

ἀνιαρόν, ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω, φησὶν Ὅμηρος. ἀλλ' ἢν γεωργίᾳ προσεῖχον, τάχ' ἂν καὶ τὰ δεινά γε ἀπῆν καὶ τἀναγκαῖα παρῆν· νυνὶ δέ, γηπονίας ἀπούσης, τοῦτο δὴ σιτοδεία, τὸ πάντων θηρίων παραπέφυκεν ἐξωλέστατον, καὶ οἷα γαῦρος ταῦρος καταμυκᾶταί τε καὶ καταμωκᾶταί μου.

Ἀλλὰ βρυχήσαιτ' ἂν καὶ λέων, οὑμὸς βασιλεύς, καὶ ταῦρος οὗτος ἔργον γένοιτο βρυχηθμοῦ· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ φύσιν καὶ τέχνην ἐξ ἀμηχάνων εὑρεῖν μηχανὰς καὶ πόρους ἐν ἀπόροις. οὐ μόνον δ' ἄρα τοιαῦτά με δρᾷ σιτοδεία, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ᾧ με συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσω, οἷα καὶ αὐτὸς συνδρᾶν ἀνατείνεται, κατεδηδοκὼς μὲν βιβλία, κατεσπαθηκὼς δὲ θοιμάτια, οὐδὲ σαρκῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθαι, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ταύτας διαλαφύξειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ χόνδρους διαμασσήσεσθαι καὶ ὀστᾶ κατάξειν καὶ στέαρ ἐκμυελίσειν· μὴ γὰρ εὐπορῶν ἀκοστᾶν — τί δ' ἀκοστᾶν φημι, ὁπότε μηδ' ἀχύροις κούφοις προσπτύειν; — κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐκμέμηνεν, οἷς, παρ' Ἀρκάσι γεγευ-

18 ῥεχθὲν – ἔγνω: Hom. Il. 17, 32; Hotop 255 || **21** πάντων — ἐξωλέστατον: Aristoph. Plut. 442 πενία ..., ἧς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν πέφυκε ζῷον ἐξωλέστερον || **25** ἐξ ἀμηχάνων – ἀπόροις: cf. Aesch. Prom. 59 δεινὸς γὰρ εὑρεῖν κἀξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον; Aristoph. Equ. 759 || **31** στέαρ ἐκμυελίσειν: cf. Num. 24:8 καὶ τὰ πάχη αὐτῶν ἐκμυελεῖ || **33-34** οἷς, παρ' Ἀρκάσι – ἱππομανοῦς: cf. Theocr. Id. 2, 48 ἱππομανὲς φυτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀρκάσι

20 τὰ 'ναγκαῖα P

before I encountered famine became a grievous one after I gained experience of it: "when it is wrought even a fool getteth understanding", says Homer.[1] But had I devoted myself to the cultivation of the land, perhaps my sufferings would be gone and the essentials for life would be at hand; but now as I am not a farmer I face famine, which is "the most fearful monster that ever drew breath", and like a haughty bull roars against me and mocks me.

But if my Emperor, the lion, would also roar, this bull would vanish at the sound of his roaring; because by his nature and manner the Emperor can find the means in impassable situations and a way out in difficulties. But famine has not driven only me to such despair, your majesty, but has also raged against the horse which you offered me in compassion as a gift, to such a ferocity as to have devoured my books and torn asunder my clothes, and he will not spare even my own flesh, for he is about to tear me to pieces, chew up my tendons and cartilage, shatter my bones and suck the marrow from them. Deprived of good feed – what am I talking, good feed, when he does not even spit a trifle of straw? – he became mad like the horses of Glaukos, which, having tasted an Arcadian plant that makes them furious,

1. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 233.

p. 106 μένοις ἱππομανοῦς, ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπα|ραγμοῦ. κἂν μὲν ἀκοστᾶν σχοίη –, εἰ δ' οὖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως μὴ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ καταβροχθίσειν ἐμὲ ἤ, στατὸς ἀπὸ φάτνης, μικρὸν διοίσειν τῶν ἐν γλυφαῖς.

β'
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὁ δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, παροιμία φησί, καὶ ταῦθ' ἥρως τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀνδρειότατος καὶ τοσούτους καὶ τηλικούτους ἄθλους κατωρθωκώς, εἰ μήτοι παῖδες Ἑλλήνων καὶ ποιητῶν μῦθοι, πρὸς χάριν εἰδότες λέγειν, εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην τερατολογοῦσι τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐκθειάζουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ, μηδέν τοι πρὸς Ἡρακλέα παραβαλλόμενος, ποῦ δίκαιος ἂν εἴην δυοῖν ἐξωλεστάτοιν θηρίοιν μαχόμενος, ὁπότε μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἐξαρκῶ; σιτοδεία ταῦτα καὶ

34 ἔργον Γλαῦκος – σπαραγμοῦ: cf. Paus. VI, 20, 19 (150, 23-25 Spiro) ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Ταράξιππος Γλαῦκος ὁ Σισύφου· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τελευτὴν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων; Apostol. 5, 47 (CPG II 345) Γλαῦκος ἄλλος ἱππόβρωτος || **36** στατὸς ἀπὸ φάτνης: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 506; 15, 263 στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ

2. ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 92 || **3** πρὸς – Ἡρακλῆς: Macar. 7, 42 (CPG II 206); Karathanasis 26 || **9** δυοῖν – θηρίοιν: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 442 Πενία ..., ἧς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν πέφυκε ζῷον ἐξωλέστερον

tore Glaukos to pieces. But if he would get his feed all will be well – otherwise, one of the two will happen, either he shall gulp me down or, like "a stalled horse that has fed his fill at the manger",[2] he shall not differ from a carved image.

2. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. The proverb says that even Heracles was not a match for two, [the Karkinos and Hydra], despite the fact that he was a most valiant hero of the Greeks, having accomplished so many and great struggles, lest the men of Hellas and the myths of the poets, who know how to entertain in their speech, tell of him absurd tales with no reason, in vain making him into a god. But myself having nothing to be compared to Heracles, how could I be equal to him and fight against two abominable beasts, when I am not strong enough even for one? The two beasts are famine and my horse: the first one does not

2. *Ibid.*, I, 299.

ἵππος· ἡ μέν, οὐδὲν ἀπεοικυῖα χιμαίρας, οὗ περὶ ἧς Ὅμηρος ἐρραψῴδησε, πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα, θηρίον ἀλλόκοτον, τριφυές τε καὶ τρίμορφον, ἀλλ' ἣ κατεσθίειν οἶδε καὶ συντρίβειν καὶ λεπτύνειν – χρηστέον δὲ πάλιν Ὁμήρῳ –, τά τε ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα καὶ τῇ τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου διαλυμαίνεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἵππος, ἐπειδὴ μηδ' αὐτὸς ἐπτέρωται κατὰ Πήγασον μηδὲ σκιρτᾶν μεμάθηκεν ἐναέρια μηδ' ἐπ' ἄκρων ἀνθερίκων θέειν, ὡς οἱ τὴν τοῦ γένους σειρὰν ἀπὸ Βορέου κατάγοντες, ἕστηκεν ἀπὸ φάτνης, οὐχ ἀκοστῶν οὐδὲ πηγὸς καὶ τριχώσει χαίρων λεπτῇ, πολλῷ δὲ τοὐναντίον, λειπόκρεως πηγεσίμαλλός τε καὶ πεπηγὼς ἄντικρυς, καὶ σφοδροῦ βορέου δεόμενος, ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἐμπνευσθεὶς κινηθῆναι, τούτῳ μόνῳ Πηγάσῳ προσεοικώς, τῷ γυμνόν με, καθὼς ἐκεῖνος Βελλεροφόντην, ἐπὶ νώτων φέρειν ὀχούμενον, κατεσπαθηκώς μοι τὸν βίον – τί λέγω βίον; ὁπότε καὶ σάρκας αὐτοῖς ὀστέοις καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἔνδον οἰκονομίαν τῆς φύσεως κυνηδὸν διαλαφύξειν ἐπανατείνεται.

12-13 πρόσθε – χίμαιρα: Hom. Il. 6, 181 || **15** τά τε – ἐόντα: Hom. Il. 1, 70 || **16** τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου: cf. Mich. Psel. Poemata 10, 7-8 (Westerink 234) ψυχῆς δὲ τριμέρεια ... θυμός, λόγος πόθος τε || **18** ἐπ' ἄκρων – θέειν: cf. Hom. Il. 20, 227 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον || **23-24** Πηγάσῳ – Βελλεροφόντην: cf. Zenob. 2, 87 (CPG I 54, 22-23) Ἀναβὰς οὖν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν Πήγασον, ὃν εἶχε ἵππον πτηνόν, κατετόξευσε τὴν Χίμαιραν || **25-27** σάρκας – φύσεως: cf. Irenaeus haer. (PG 7/2: 1126B) τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, τῆς ἐκ σαρκῶν καὶ νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων συνεστώσης

---

22 ἐφῷπερ P

differ at all from the she-goat, not the one about which Homer recited "in the fore part a lion, in the hinder a serpent, and in the midst a goat",[3] a strange beast, of threefold nature and form, but one which can devour, crush and beat to dust – to refer again to Homer – "all things that were, and that were to be, and that had been before",[4] ruining the tripartite division of man's life. On the other hand, because my horse has not been provided with wings like Pegasus, and has learned neither to spring in the air nor to run over the topmost ears of ripened corn, as those that trace the line of their ancestry to Boreas, it stands at the manger not well-fed, not being strong nor enjoying a fine growth of hair. Quite the contrary, it is very thin and with thick hair like a sheep's, stuck on the ground outright, in need of a violent north wind to be blown and thus move. Only in this respect is he like Pegasus, in that he carries me as a rider naked on his back, as Pegasus did Bellerophon, having wasted my livelihood – what am I saying, livelihood? When he threatens like a dog to tear to pieces my flesh and bones, my whole inner physical existence.

---

3. *Ibid.*, I, 275.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

Δεῖ δὴ πρὸς τοιαύτην ὕδραν οὐχ Ἡρακλέους οὐδὲ μολίβδου, χρυσίου μέντοι καὶ βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου τῶν ἁπάντων p. 107 εἰδότος τοιῶνδ' ἀτιθάσσων θηρίων κατασοφίζεσθαι.|

γ′
Τῷ πατριάρχῃ κυρῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Γλυκεῖ

Εἵμαρτό μοι καὶ τοῦτο – οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, δοκοῦν δ' οἶμαι τοῖς πυλωροῖς –, ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς προσκυνήσεως καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δυστυχίαν ἤδη δὶς δεδυστυχηκέναι. προσιόντα με τὴν πρώτην κλῖμαξ εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος· ἡ γὰρ εἴσοδος ἀποκέκλειστο καὶ ἡ θύρα μοχλοῖς καὶ ὀχεῦσι σιδηροῖς ἐπεζύγωτο. τοῖς οὖν ἐκτὸς ἀνακειμένοις προσανακείμενος, ἐπαίταις οὖσιν ἀνιωμένοις, προσηνιώμην ἀνίαν οὐ φορητὴν τῷ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἐπαιτοῦσι προσεπαιτεῖν, οὐ μὴν δ' ἀφῖχθαι προσομιλήσων τῷ πατριάρχῃ. ἀμέλει καί, σκοποῦ γενόμενον ἀπιέναι, τοῦτ' ἐπεῖχε, μὴ προσανιάσειν γεγονὸς τὸν πατριάρχην πυθόμενον, μακρόθεν φίλον τυγχάνοντα, ἐπεῖχε δ' οὖν ὅμως, φανταζόμενον ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τὴν θύραν ἀνεζυγῶσθαι καὶ ῥᾴω γενέσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον. ἐλάνθανον δ' ἄρα τἀναντία πεισόμενος· ὡς γὰρ μόγις ὀψέ, τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηχηκότων κωδώνων, ἐφῷ τοὺς ἑσπερίους ὕμνους ἀφοσιωθῆναι Θεῷ, ἀναμεμόχλευτο μὲν τὰ ζύγωτρα, ἀνέῳκτο δὲ ἡ θύρα παραχωροῦσα τὴν εἴσοδον, συνεισῄειν τοῖς εἰσιοῦσι κἀγώ. καὶ παρελάμβανε μὲν ὁ δόμος, ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην δ' ἔτι

3. 1 κυρίῳ LPdTheil

Against such a hydra one needs not Heracles nor lead, but gold and the Emperor, who is the only one of all men who knows how to deal with such untamed beasts.

3. To the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

It was also this event that fate kept in store for me – I do not know how, but I think on account of the keepers of the gate – to be cut off from expressing my reverence to the Patriarch and to have the bad luck this to happen to me twice. When I came the first time I did not go beyond the stairs of the building; the entrance was closed and the gate was fastened by bars and iron bolts. Standing near the grieving beggars who were kept outside, I was distressed by the unbearable thought that I could be taken as also begging along with those beggars, and not that I had come to speak with the patriarch. At any rate, having decided to leave, the thought kept me back, that the patriarch may be annoyed learning of the incident, being a long-time friend; nevertheless the thought held me back, imagining that the bolt of the gate would be pushed back right away making easy the entrance. Yet, I was mistaken going through the opposite. Almost late in the day, when the sacred bells rang for the evening service dedicated to God, the bars were raised and the gate was opened to allow entrance, and I entered together with the others who went inside. And the building took me in, but the way lea-

φέρουσα κέκλειστο. ἡμέρας δ' ἤδη φθινούσης —καὶ γὰρ βουλυτὸς ἦν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τῶν οἴκοι μεμνῆσθαι ἀνέπειθεν—, ἐξῄειν ἀνίας μεστός, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς ἀκαιρίας, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πλείω καταμεμφόμενος.

Εἶεν· ἐξ ἐκείνου πεντεκαιδεκάτης παριππευσάσης, πάριμεν αὖθις, ὥσπερ φιλίας κέντρῳ νυττόμενοι καὶ πεῖραν αὖθις ληψόμενοι, καίτοι τῆς προτέρας σωφρονιζούσης, πάριμεν δ' οὖν τὴν προτέραν ἀναπαλαίσοντες ἧτταν. ἀφιππασάμενοι δὲ καὶ ποδὶ δρομαίῳ παρὰ τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρώτας πύλας γενόμενοι ἐπεζυγωμέναις ἐντετυχήκειμεν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπιζυγώσεως πυνθανομένων, τῶν τις πυλωρούντων «εἰ παρὰ τὸν πατριάρχην ἀπιέναι βούλει», φησίν, «ἴθι παρὰ τὴν ξυλίνην — πύλη δ' αὕτη τῶν πατριαρχικῶν οἰκημάτων —, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐφεῖσθαι τὴν εἴσοδον τό γε νῦν εἶναι». ὁ μὲν οὖν εἴρηκε πρὸς ἀπάτην, ἡμεῖς δ', ἀληθίζειν οἰόμενοι, τὸν λόγον ἔργον
p. 108 ἐτίθεμεν. ἰόντες δὲ | κἀνταῦθα τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐψεύσμεθα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πύλαις ὅλαις ἀνεπέπτατο, καὶ εἰσῄειμεν ἂν καὶ παρὰ τὸν πατριάρχην ἀνῄειμεν, εἰ μὴ δρομαῖος ὁ πυλωρὸς ἐπεζύγωσέ μοι κατὰ προσώπου, «ἀπ' ἐμῆς πύλης», εἰπών, «ἀπ' ἐμῆς». καταλειφθεὶς οὖν θυραῖος μεστὸς αἰσχύνης ἐπάνειμι, οὐ τὸν χόλον καταπέψας αὐτῆμαρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς δεῦρο μελαγχολῶν

---

27 ἀναπαλαίσοντες – ἧτταν: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. III, 155,2 (van der Valk) τὴν ἧτταν ἀναπαλαίσαντες || 40 χόλον – αὐτῆμαρ: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 81 εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ

---

24 παριππασάσης LPdTheil || 29 ἐπεζυγωμένῃ LPdTheil || 35 ἰόντων LPdTheil

ding to the patriarch was closed. Yet, the day was already coming to a close – because it was evening and the time made me think of those at home – I then went out very much upset, blaming the bad timing but even more myself.

Be that as it may, fifteen days after that, I came back again, as if I was incited by an urge of friendship to take another chance, although the past one was calling for prudence, I nevertheless came back to resolve the previous defeat. Getting off the horse and then on foot running fast I came to the first gates of the Church and found them closed. Inquiring the reason for being closed, one of those in the service of the gate said to me, "if you want to go to the patriarch go to the wooden gate – this is a gate of the patriarchal buildings – from there entrance is now permitted". Yet, he lied to me in what he said, but thinking that he was telling the truth, I put his word in action. Arriving there my hopes proved false. Because the gate was completely open and we could enter and go up to the patriarch, if the gate keeper running at full speed would not shut it in my face, saying "away from my gate", "away from my gate". Left then outside the gate fully disgraced, I returned back, "not swallowing my wrath for the one day", but being still saddened at the empty-

τῆς τε κενῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῆς τ' αἰσχύνης, ἣν ὁ πυλωρὸς ἐμοὶ προσετρίψατο.

Ἆρ' οὖν ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα τῷ πεπεισμένῳ; ἢ μὴν οὑμὸς δεσπότης καὶ πατριάρχης ἡγήσαιτο; καὶ τίς ἄν γε φαίη, ὅτι μὴ ὅστις τὸ πατριαρχικὸν οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔστι φιλάνθρωπον;

δ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ πατριάρχῃ

Ἡμᾶς δὲ τί ποτ' ἄρα πάσχειν δοκεῖς, οἷον δ' ἂν ἀσχάλλειν, παναγιώτατε δέσποτά μου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης κοινὲ πατριάρχα, μηδ' ἐφάπαξ, καίτοι δέον ὂν καθάπαξ, ὁμιλεῖν, πολλῶν ἀνέκαθεν δικαίων πειθόντων; ἀλλ' ἢν μὲν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐτερπόμεθ' ἂν ἀπόντες, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἀσχάλλειν ἐξῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τις ἥδεται δρῶν, ἀνιᾶσθαι. ἀνιῷτο δ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐφ' ὅτῳ πάσχων οὐχ ἥδεται· ἀνιᾷ γὰρ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἠνιώμεθα, δῆλον ὡς ἡδόμεθ' ἂν πάσχοντες, ἡδόμενοι δὲ ἐσιγῶμεν καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἀπολογεῖσθαι γράμμασιν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπεβάλλομεν οὔτ' οὖν ἀπολύειν αἰτίας ἠγωνιζόμεθα. εἰ γὰρ μὴ πολλάκις προσιόντες οὐδὲν ἠνυκότες τοσάκις μὴ τετυχηκότες ἐξῄειμεν, ἦμεν ἂν δικαίως νεμεσητέοι καί γε καθ' ἑαυτῶν κεκινηκότες τὸν τῆς παροιμίας

4. 14-15 κεκινηκότες – ἀνάγυρον: Zenob. 2, 55 (CPG I 46); Diogen. 1, 25 (CPG I 184); Apostol. 9,99 (CPG II 483); Karathanasis 102; Salzmann 87

7-8 ἐξανάγκης P

handed journey and the shame which the gate-keeper brought upon me.

Consequently are then these matters to be tolerated being convinced of my report? Or would my lord and patriarch consider them acceptable? But anyone who says so, he certainly ignores the patriarchal benevolence.

4. To the same Patriarch

What can my distress possibly be and how great do you think is my sadness, my all-holy lord and ecumenical patriarch, for not being able to communicate with you, not even once, although it should happen at least in one single case, as my many rights from years back assure me? If I was pleased being apart from you, there would be no need to be distressed. Nor is it possible to be sad in what one enjoys doing. Yet he would necessarily be grieved when he is affected by something that does not afford him pleasure; because that which is contrary to one's opinion causes distress. If I had not been then distressed at all, it would mean that I was satisfied with what happened to me; and being satisfied I would have kept silent about it, neither defending myself by sending letters nor trying to clear myself of the charge. Because if I had not come many times having accomplished nothing and as many departed empty-handed, I should justly face resentment for having brought this trouble upon myself.

ἀνάγυρον. νυνὶ δέ, τοιούτων πεπειραμένοι δρωμένων, δευτέρῳ πλῷ, τῷ διὰ γραμμάτων, προσέσχομεν, ὡς μὴ παντελῶς δοκοῖμεν ἀνέραστοί τινες καὶ ἀγνώμονες, ἐρεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον μισόκαλοι· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ῥᾷστα τοιοῦτοι κριθείημεν, αἰτίαν στοχαζομένοις τὴν ἀπουσίαν.

Ἀλλ' ἥ γε πατριαρχικὴ μεγαλόνοια οἶδεν ὅπως τε καὶ παρόντες φιλοῦμεν καὶ μακρὰν ὄντες εὐγνωμονοῦμεν.

ε′

Τῷ κανικλείου

Ἀνεγινώσκετο μὲν ὁ λόγος, ἡδόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς ἀκροώμενοι καὶ
ἦμεν ἐκθειάζοντες, ὅσοις ἦν ἔργον τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις
p. 109 συννοίᾳ προσέχειν. | ἐξιοῦσι δὲ τοῦ συλλόγου καὶ προϊοῦσιν
οἴκαδε οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἦν κοινὴν πεποιημένοις τὴν ὁμιλίαν.
ἡ δ' ἦν ἅπασα περὶ τοῦ λόγου, μὴ ταὐτὰ δρᾶν τοῖς προτέροις·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐκρότει καὶ ἐπῄνει καὶ ἐνεθουσία ὑφ'
ἡδονῆς, οὕτω μὲν γενναίου, οὕτω δὲ θαυμασίου προενηνεγ-
μένου καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμμένου. καὶ δῆθ' οὕτως ἔχουσιν
ἡδονῆς καὶ εὐφημίας ψῆφος ἐξηνέχθη καὶ δέλτοις ἀντιγράφοις

15-16 δευτέρῳ πλῷ: cf. Lib. ep. 95, 2 (X 94, 9 Foerster); Diogen. 2, 45 (CPG II 24) πλοῦν ἄλλον; Karathanasis 80 δεύτερος πλοῦς; Salzmann 55 || **17** ἀνέραστοι – ἀγνώμονες: cf. Mich. Chon. Orat. 14 (Lampros I, 250, 23) ἀλλ' ἀνεράστως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως

5. 7 καὶ καὶ P

But now, going through the experience of such doings, I choose the next best way, that of letter writing, so that I may not appear as completely unloving and ungrateful or, I would say rather, as hating the good. There are some who would easily condemn us as such, imputing the fault to my absence.

But your patriarchal magnanimity certainly knows that and being present I manifest my love as well as my gratitude from afar.

5. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

When the discourse was read, we were enjoying listening and admiring, those of us who were paying close attention to the reading. As the group was leaving and heading home it was to be expected, as we were still conversing with each other (and the talk was all about the discourse), that we acted in the same manner as in previous readings. There was no one who did not applaud, praise or approve it with pleasure and for such an excellent and admirable deliverance which attained its best. And indeed being filled with joy and praise, it was decided that the discourse should be given to be copied in books and be inscribed

δοθῆναι καὶ πλαξὶ καρδιῶν ἐγχαραχθῆναι, ὡς μήποτ' ἂν ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένοιτο τὰ καλὰ μηδὲ παραρρυῇ, λήθης ἀμαυρωθέντα βυθῷ, παντὶ δὲ βίῳ συντηρηθείη, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐσομένους διαπορθμεύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους προφθὰς αἰτῶ λαβεῖν πρῶτος, θαῦμα γ' οὐδέν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν συστήσαιμι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων φιλεῖν, τῷ καὶ πρῶτος ἠτηκέναι τῶν ἄλλων.

ϛʹ
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Φήμη περιθέει τοὺς λογίους οὐκ ἄχαρις· ἡ δ' ἔστι, τὴν σὴν μεγαλόνοιαν ἐξενηνοχέναι λόγον γενναῖον, περὶ ψυχῆς, ὅν φασιν, εἰ περιόντες Πλάτων τε καὶ Πλωτῖνος καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ φιλοσόφου κόμματος ἐπῆσαν, τάχ' ἂν αἰδεσθέντες ἀπῆσαν. τοῦτον οἱ μηδένες περὶ λόγους ἡμεῖς ἀναγνῶναι καὶ τῆς αὐτόθεν φιλοσοφίας ἀπόνασθαι, πῶς δοκεῖς ἐφιέμεθα; εἰ γάρ, εἴ τις ἄλλος, τοῦ γεννησαμένου πατρὸς ἐξηρτήμεθα, πῶς ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸν παῖδα γνησίως φιλοῖμεν καὶ πρὸς οὐκ ἐπιόντας ἐπιέναι διαπορθμεύοιμεν; τὰ γὰρ ἔχοντα καλλίστως οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως νοῦν ἔχων τις οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς μὴ φιλεῖν καί, φιλῶν,

5. 11 πλαξὶ καρδιῶν: cf. II Cor. 3: 3 ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίαις σαρκίναις || **11-13** ὡς μήποτ' – βυθῷ: cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 44, 1 (PG 36: 608A) ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά, μηδὲ παραῤῥυῇ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα

6. 2 ἤδ' LPdTheil || **9** γνησίον LPdTheil

on tablets of human hearts, so that the good deeds should not be forgotten in time nor become obscure and be swept away into the abyss of oblivion, but be preserved for a life-time, so that it could be transmitted to the future generations. If I ask to receive the text first ahead of the others, do not marvel. So in this way I introduce myself as a greater admirer of yours than any other, being the first to have asked for it before anyone else.

6. To the same

A rumor is circulating among scholars – not an unpleasant one. That your great mind has composed an excellent discourse, On the Soul, about which they say, if Plato and Plotinus were still alive and were together with those who joined the philosophic elite afterwards and had read it, they would probably go away filled with respect. You can imagine how much we wanted to read it, we the unworthy of such learning, and profit from its philosophy. If we are indeed attached to the father, who brought it forth, more than anyone else, how could we not genuinely love his offspring and not transmit it to those who have not yet encountered it? Because for someone with a grasp of understanding, it is impossible not to appreciate an excellent work. If he

φθονεῖν καὶ λοιποῖς μεταδιδόναι τοῦ κρείττονος, ὥσπερ τις ἐρασιχρήματος, ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ θησαυρίζων τὸν ὄλβον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς τοσούτους ἔστιν ἀποστερῶν, ὅσους εὖ ποιεῖν ἠδύνατο.

Κέλευσον πεμφθῆναι τὸν λόγον, ἵν', εὐφράνας παῖς ὁ καλός, θᾶττον ἀναλύσῃ παρὰ πατέρα τὸν κάλλιστον. τὴν μέντοι γ' αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπερημέρου ἀφίξεως, ἣν ἐνεκάλεσας, λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν· εἰ δὲ πραγμάτων ὄχλος περιστοιχίζων ἴσως μνήμης ἔξω βαλεῖν ἀναπέπεικεν, αὖθις αὖ ἀναμνήσω καί, πείθομαι, συγγνώσῃ, χρηστότατε. οἷς δ' ἐρῶ, πρόσσχες· ἵππος ἐκεῖνος, ᾧ με βασιλεὺς ἐδωρήσατο, πάντα μου κα-
p. 110 τεlσπαθηκὼς ἄλφιτα καὶ λοιπὴν περιουσίαν ἐδηδοκώς, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀκοστᾶν περιλέλοιπε, δεσμὰ διαρρήξας — καὶ γὰρ ἐπίεζε τὸ πεινῆν —, ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων. καὶ νῦν σκιρτῶν κροαίνει κατὰ πεδίου, ἐμοὶ δὲ περίεστι τῷ πεζεύειν ἄχθεσθαι. ἀνεκαλεσάμην δ' ἂν οἴκοι καὶ δεσμοῖς περιέβαλον, εἰ μὴ δέος ᾕρει καὶ χείρω δράσειν ἐμέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βιβλίων ὀλίγων, ἅττα περίεστιν, οὐδενὸς ἂν φείσαιτο, εἰωθὼς ἔδμεναι ἄδδην, ἐφ' ἱπποστάθμου βασιλικοῦ καὶ φάτνης στατός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα καταβροχθίσειεν, οἷά τις χάρυβδις ἄπληστος. ἣν οὖν τι κήδῃ, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπειδὴ κήδῃ τῶν λόγων, κέλευσον τὴν χάρυβδιν ἀκοστᾶν — ἴσως γὰρ ἂν

23 δεσμὰ διαρρήξας: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 507 δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας || **24-25** ῥίμφα – ἵππων: Hom. Il. 6, 511 || **25** κροαίνει – πεδίου: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 507 θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων || **29** εἰωθὼς – ἄδδην: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 203 εἰωθότες ἔδμεναι ἄδην

16 πάτερα LPdTheil || **17** ἦν LPdTheil || **20** πρόσχες P

indeed appreciates it and yet at the same time is jealous and refuses to offer this common good to others, then he is just like a miser who gathers only to himself the happiness, and he does not know that he deprives as many as he could have benefited.

Give an order and I shall dispatch the discourse to you so that your excellent offspring having filled me with joy may the sooner return to its brilliant father. As to the reason for its arrival being overdue, of which you accused me, I have already given an explanation. If, however, the many troubles that beset me have misled me perhaps to forget, again once more I shall remind myself to send it back and, I am convinced, your kindness shall forgive me. Give ear to what I shall say: that horse which the Emperor gave me as a gift has squandered all the barley and eaten up the rest of my surplus, and because nothing is left to eat, it has broken its halter – for the reason that it was hard-pressed by hunger – "his knees nimbly bear him to the haunts and pastures of mares"[5] and now he "runneth stamping over the plain",[6] and the net result of all this is to go on foot and be grieved. I could bring it back home and put it in fetters, if I was not overcome by fear that it could do me something worse. It would spare nothing, not even the few books that are left to me, being accustomed to eat its fill as a stabled horse before a manger in an imperial stable, yet he would also devour my books like an insatiate charybdis. If you care somewhat about me, rather because you care for learning, give an order for the

5. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 299.
6. *Ibid.*

φείσαιτο τῶν βιβλίων –, ἐμὲ δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπάλλαξον καὶ πάντως ἔποχον ὄψει παρὰ τὰς σὰς θαμίζοντα θύρας καὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποτιννύντα.

Ἀλλ' ἢν μὴ δοκῶ φορτικός, δέομαί σου καὶ τρίτην δέησιν ταυτηνί· παρὼν ὅτε με βασιλεὺς εὐηργέτει ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐφήδου καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμαϊκοῦ ὁ λόγιος ὑπερηγόρεις Ἑρμῆς. ἡ δ' ὑπερηγορία καὶ δευτέρας εὐεργεσίας ὑπόθεσις, ἐσθὴς ἐπηγγελμένη πρὸς βασιλέως. καὶ δῆτα τὴν ἐσθῆτα σὺ μὲν κερκίσι λόγων ἐξύφαινες, ὁ χρηστὸς δὲ κεφαλῇ κατένευε βασιλεύς. ἀπόδος ἐμοὶ θᾶττον τὸ ὕφασμα, καὶ σοὶ Χριστὸς τὸ σωτήριον στόλισμα.

ζ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἀνέγνων τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς γενναῖόν σου λόγον, καί γε πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἦν ὅ τι τοῦ λόγου μέρος μὴ μεθ' ὑπερβάλλοντος θαύματος καὶ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς ἀνέγνων, τῆς τ' ἐπιστήμης τῆς τε δεινότητος ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἀγάμενος. καί γε τὴν πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς παροιμίαν, ἀληθῆ δοκοῦσαν

41 κερκίσι λόγων: cf. Eurip. Ion, 506–507 οὔτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων φάτιν

37 βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς P || 41 κατένευσε LPdTheil

7. 6 πρὸς – Ἡρακλῆς: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3

charybdis to be fed – perhaps she would thus spare the books. Relieve me of my troubles and you shall surely see me riding often to your doors, paying my debt in full.

But if I do not appear burdensome, I beg you for a third favour, the following one: when the Emperor showed me his kindness you were present and were pleased with the benefits bestowed upon me and like the eloquent Hermes you spoke on my behalf, the servant of Hermes. Your plea was about the matter of a second gift, a garment promised to me by the Emperor. And upon that occasion you wove the dress with the loom of your words, and the kind Emperor consented by nodding his head. Grant me then promptly the garment, and Christ will grant the garment of salvation.

7. To the same

I read your excellent discourse On the Soul many times, of course, and it was impossible not to feel immense admiration and great pleasure reading any part of it, being captivated by its erudition and forcefulness. The discourse moreover proved that the proverb, which was upheld earlier as a true one, that "not

προτοῦ, ψευδῆ σαφῶς ὁ λόγος ἐλήλεγχεν, οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ δύο μόνων, Πλάτωνος καὶ Πλωτίνου, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πάντων, ὅσοι τοῦ φιλοσόφου κόμματος περὶ ψυχῆς ἐδογμάτισαν, τὸ κράτος ἀνέζωστο. ὢ γενναίου νοῦ, τοιαῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιστήσαντος, ὢ ψυχῆς φιλοσόφου, περὶ νοῦ τηλικαῦτα σπουδασάσης καὶ
p. 111 δι' ἀμφοῖν μεγίστην καὶ καλλίστην | διδασκαλίαν ἐξευρηκυίας τῷ βίῳ· ὢ σοφῶν ἀποδείξεων, μᾶλλον δ' ἐρεῖν ἐπιστημονικῶν πίστεων, ἅττα γλώττας οὕτως ἐπεστόμισεν ἀντιθέτους. δεῦρ' ἴτε, Πλάτων τε καὶ Πλωτῖνε καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπισφαλῶς πεφιλοσοφήκει περὶ ψυχῆς, ἀσφαλῶς ἀκροᾶσθε καὶ πάντως ἂν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λημῶν ὄμμα καθάραντες πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνης ἥλιον ἐντρανίσητε καὶ ῥήσεσιν ἀναντιρρήτοις πεισθείητε. εἰ δ' οὖν, δόξαις αὐταῖς, αὐταῖς γλώτταις, ἐς κόρακας. τάχ' ἂν καὶ χάριν εἰδεῖμεν ὑμῖν, τρανὲς ἡμῖν τἀληθὲς συγχωροῦσιν ὁρᾶν, ὀφθαλμίαν νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς.

Ἀλλ' οἱ μέν, οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐξεληλεγμένοι, δοξαζόντων ὅπως ποθ' αἱροῖντο, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ φύσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν χάρις πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς δοκεῖς τὸν ἵππον δάκνειν λιμώττοντα καὶ τῶν σῶν πυραμίδων ἀκοστᾶν ἀναγκάζοντα; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἔστι κατ' ἐκείνους δὴ τοὺς Ἡραίους, τοῖσιν ἀμβροσίην Σιμόεις ἀνέτειλε νέμεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἳ κρῖ λευκὸν καὶ ὀλύρας ἐρέπτονται. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἑκτορείων τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν; οἷς

19 ἐς κόρακας: Zenob. 3, 87 (CPG I 78-79); Apostol. 7, 96 (CPG II 421) || **26-27** τοῖσιν – νέμεσθαι: Hom. Il. 5, 777 || **27-28** οἳ κρῖ – ἐρέπτονται: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 196 κρῖ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας

15 γε (pro τε) LPdTheil || **26** δὲ (pro δὴ) LPdTheil

even Heracles was a match for two", to be actually untrue, because the author of the discourse girded his power not only against two, Plato and Plotinus, but against all those from the ranks of philosophy who expressed their opinion on the soul.

Oh, noble mind, you displayed such a great knowledge about the soul; oh, philosophic soul, you studied so deeply the mind and for both, soul and mind, you have created the greatest and best principles in life; oh, what great wise proofs, rather said scientific arguments, which silenced in such a way the speech of the opponents. Come here, Plato and Plotinus and any other who taught as a philosopher about the soul in a dubious way. Listen now with certainty, wash off your sore eyes and looking at the truth you shall see the sun and be convinced by the undeniable axioms. Otherwise, to hell with your theories and your language. But perhaps we should feel grateful to you for you have allowed us to see the truth clearly, yourselves being sick in the eyes.

But let them believe whatever they choose, for they are proven unsound in their notions. As for you, may the grace of God be upon you and your disposition. But do you believe it, my famished horse bites me and forces me to feed him barley from your own barn? Nay, mine is not like those horses of the goddess Hera, for the sake of which "Simois made ambrosia to spring up to graze upon", because they "feed on white barley and spelt".[7] And what is the need to mention the horses of Hector? For which

7. *Ibid.*, I, 209.

Ἀνδρομάχη παρὰ προτέροισι μελίφρονα πυρὸν ἔθηκεν οἶνόν τ' ἐγκεράσασα πιεῖν, ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι ἢ Ἕκτορι, ὅσπερ οἱ θαλερὸς πόσις εὔχετο εἶναι. ὁ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθών, κατὰ τοὺς Γλαύκου ἐκμέμηνεν, ἱππομανοῦς δεδειπνηκότας καὶ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν διεσπαρακότας δεσπότην. κἂν μὴ περιβύσαις τούτῳ τὸ στόμα, Ἡρακλῆς ἐλθὼν ἀλεξίκακος, Ἡράκλεις, οἵων ἂν ἐγὼ πειραθείην.

Εἶτα, περιΐδοις ἄν, ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ἐλεεινὰ πάσχοντα, καὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτῶν, τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν δηλαδή; μή σύ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ σεσωκέναι καὶ τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην ἐσθῆτα πρὸς βασιλέως ὑφάναις μοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ φιλέρμαιος ἀνάσχοιτ' ἂν βασιλεὺς μὴ Ἑρμῇ τε καὶ Μούσαις εὔστολόν τινα τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν συστῆσαι θεράποντα. οὔτ' οὖν ἔργον σόν, τοῦ λογίου Ἑρμοῦ τὸν Ἑρμαϊκόν γε περιϊδεῖν ἐρρικνωμένον τριβώνιον ἀμπεχόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια διατρίβειν, οὕτω δόξαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐ συγχωρεῖ μὴ οὐκ ἐνῆφθαί με τῶν μαλακῶν.

Ἄτρακτός ἐστιν ἡ γλῶσσα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀληθῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν περικλώθουσα νήματα· κίνει δή μοι καὶ περιείλει

29-30 προτέροισι – ἀνώγοι: Hom. 8, 188-189 || **31-32** κατὰ – ἐκμέμηνεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 || **34** Ἡρακλῆς – ἀλεξίκακος: cf. Lucian. Alex. 4, 1-2 ἀλεξίκακε Ἡράκλεις || **40-41** Ἑρμῇ – θεράποντα: locus communis, cf. Nic. Basilac. Or. III (74, 4 Garzya); Eust. ep. 23 (75, 7 Kolovou) εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Ἑρμοῦ θεράπων λογίου, βαβαὶ τῆς ὕβρεως

30 πινεῖν LPdTheil

Andromache "set before them honeyed-hearted wheat and mingled wine for them to drink, when their souls bade them"[8] sooner than Hector, "who avows to be her stalwart husband".[9] But my horse, I do not know why on earth, it became mad like the horses of Glaukos, which, having tasted an Arkadian plant that made them furious, tore their master to pieces. And if you will not muzzle its mouth, coming as a Heracles warding off ill, oh Heracles, what will I experience!

Will you overlook me then, while I suffer, you the compassionate one, who excels more than anyone in doing good to others? Not you, of course. Besides, by rescuing me you should weave the dress which the Emperor promised me. Neither would the Emperor, the friend of Hermes, tolerate a servant of theirs to be associated with Hermes and the Muses unless he was well dressed. It is not then a fitting task for you, the Logios Hermes, to allow me, the servant of Hermes, to be clad in a shriveled cloak; besides, my mere presence in the palace, as the Emperor decided, obliges me to be dressed in fine clothes.

The speech of the Emperor is like a spindle which spins threads of true promises. Set then in motion and rotate the spin-

8. *Ibid.*, I, 353.
9. *Ibid.*

p. 112 ταύτην τὴν ἄτρακτον, καὶ | Κλωθοῦς μίτοις λαμπρὰν τὴν ἐσθῆτα θᾶττον ἐξυφανεῖς.

η′
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μοι λόγος ἀναγκαῖος καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἐρῶν ἥκει καὶ πάντως πείσων, κἂν δοκῇ τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης σθένος ἀδήριτον. θέρους ἐφειστήκει ἀκμή· καὶ τοῖς εὖ μὲν ἔχουσι δαιμονίου πλήρεις μὲν αἱ ἅλως θημώνων, πλήρεις δ' αἱ πυραμίδες σίτων· ἐμοὶ δὲ τἄγγη κενὰ καὶ ἀραχνίων μεστά, ὅπερ Ἡσίοδος ἀπηγόρευσεν, ἥ τε σιπύη κενὴ καὶ ἡ γαστὴρ στενὴ τό τε πεινῆν παραπόδας καὶ θάνατος ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς. τρυγητός ἐστιν ὁ καιρός· καὶ τοῖς μέν, βοτρύων ὑπερστεφεῖς αἱ ληνοὶ τά θ' ὑπολήνια ἀνακαχλάζοντά τε καὶ ἀναζέοντα· καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ Διός, εἰωθὼς ἐλευθεριάζειν καὶ συμβακχεύειν Νύμφαις ἐν ὄρεσι, πίθοις νῦν καθειρχθεὶς ὥσπερ φρουραῖς βρέμει μὲν μανικόν, ἐνθουσιᾷ δὲ δεινὸν βρασμούς τε ψοφώδεις ἀναφυσᾷ καὶ χείριστα δρᾶν ἀπειλεῖ, ῥηγνύναι μὲν τοὺς πυθμένας τοῖς πίθοις, σχάζειν δὲ τὰς γαστέρας τοῖς ἀμφορεῦσι καὶ διαλακίζειν τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν ἀσκῶν, οὐ πυρὸς πρη-

8. 3-4 τὸ τῆς – ἀδήριτον: cf. Aesch. Prom. 105; Salzmann 71 || **6** τἄγγη – μεστά: cf. Hesiod. Op. 475 ἐκ δ' ἀγγέων ἐλάσειας ἀράχνια || **11-12** συμβακχεύειν – ὄρεσι: cf. Eur. Ba. 726 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος

5 ἅλῳ LPdTheil || **6** τὰ 'γγη LPdTheil || **9** χαιρὸς LPdTheil

dle, and you shall quickly weave a brilliant garment with Klothos' threads.

8. To the Grand Logothete

My letter conveys a word of force and has come to tell about my needs and it will no doubt be convincing, even when it seems that "the might of necessity brooketh no resistance".[10] The midsummer season has arrived and to those who have the favours of fortune their threshing floor is filled with heaps of crops. Filled are also their barns of grain, while my vessels are empty and full of spider webs, which Hesiod forbade – and my jar is empty, my belly is thin and hunger is imminent and death looms over my head. It is harvest-time; the wine vats of others are filled to the brim with grapes and their vessels which are placed under the press boil up and bubble. And Dionysus, the son of Zeus, who is accustomed to be free of ethical restraints, joins in Dionysiac revelry the Nymphs in the mountains, but he is now locked up in vessels as if he were in prison, where he roars in frenzy, as being in a wondrous ecstasy, blowing up and boiling full of noise, and threatens to do the worst, that is to break the bottoms of the vessels, to slit open the belly of the jars and to tear up the old wineskins, discharging not eruptions of fire, but a crater of

10. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, tr. H. Weir Smyth, 227.

στῆρας, οἰνηροὺς δὲ κρατῆρας Τυφῶνος δίκην ἀνερευγόμενος. ἀπιὼν ἤδη καὶ οὗτος ᾤχετο, μεστά μοι παρεικῶς ἀνέμων τὰ σκεύη· καὶ τοῦ πίθου τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐκπωματισθέντος αἵδ' εἰς αἰθέρος ἀνέπτασαν. δέος οὖν, δέος μὴ δριμέος χειμῶνος ἐνσκήψαντος λεπτῇ χειρὶ πιέζω πόδα παχύν, ὅπερ πάλιν ἀπεῖπεν Ἡσίοδος.

Ἀλλ' ἢν μέν, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀνεβαλόμην ἐργάζεσθαι ἔς τ' αὔριον ἔς τ' ἔννηφι, δίκας ἂν ὦφλον καὶ δικαίως ἐπάλαιον ἄτησιν, ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀμβολιεργός. νυνὶ δ', ἐφιεὶς ῥυτῆρας ὅλους ἔργοις σπουδαίοις, ποῦ δίκαιος πάσχειν ἅττ' ἂν ἀμβολιεργός; πάσχω γε δ' οὖν, παρεωραμένος, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πλουτούντων, οἷς θητεύω καὶ ὧν παιδεύειν τὰ φίλτατα τὸ δεινὸν δαιμόνιον κατεδίκασεν, ὥσπερ εἰργασμένος τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ χείριστα, δέον διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν με πάσης. ἀλλ' ἢν μὲν χρυσῖτιν γῆν ἐμετάλλευον, ἀλλ' ἢν ἀργυρῖτιν, περιερρεόμην ἂν ἀργυρίοις τε καὶ χρυσίοις· νυνὶ δ', ἀνιχνεύων καὶ διδάσκων λόγους καὶ μαργάρων καὶ λίθων τιμιωτέρους, ἀτιμότερος τῶν μέταλλα γεωρυχούντων καθέστηκα καὶ γυμνότερος ὑπέρου καὶ

19-20 πίθου – ἀνέπτασαν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 97; Dem. Cyd. Ep. 46 (80, 26-27 R.-J. Loenertz) ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ὁ πίθος κεκένωται || **21** λεπτῇ – παχύν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 497 λεπτῇ δὲ παχὺν πόδα χειρὶ πιέζῃς || **23-24** ἀνεβαλόμην – ἔννηφι: cf. Hesiod. Op. 410 μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἔς τ' αὔριον ἔς τε ἔνηφι || **24-25** ἐπάλαιον – ἀμβολιεργός: cf. Hesiod. Op. 413 αἰεὶ δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει || **34** γυμνότερος ὑπέρου: Prov. 23: 31; Apostol. 17, 65 (CPG II 702); Karathanasis 71

19 ἐκπωμασθέντος P || **21** ληπτῇ LPdTheil

wine like a Typhon. Yet he is already gone, leaving to me the vessels filled with air, and as the lid was taken away from the cask of hopes, my hopes flew in the air. There is a fear then, a fear "lest in bitter winter I chafe a swollen foot with a shrank hand",[11] which again Hesiod rejects.

But if, as Hesiod says, I "had put work off till tomorrow and the day after", I should suffer punishment as a man who puts off work and is justly at hand-grips with ruin. But now with loose reins for serious works, is it just that I suffer for putting off work? I suffer to be sure from being overlooked, and for that matter, by the rich for whom I work and whose dear children I have been condemned by the awful demon to teach, as if I had injured these men in the worst way, though they ought to treat me honourably. Yet if I had worked in a gold or a silver mine, I would abound in silver and gold; but now searching and teaching discourses which are more precious than pearls and valuable stones, I have become more dishounored than those who dig a mine and "more bare than a pestle" and more poor than Iros.

11. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, tr. H.G. Evelyn-White, 39.

p. 113

Ἴρου πενέστερος. ἦσαν ἄρα εὐδαίμονες καὶ παῖδες εὐδαιμόνων φυτηκόμοι καὶ γεωργοί, παρ' οἷς καὶ βαλάντιον | ἐμβριθὲς καὶ γαστρὸς θύλακος ἐμβριθέστερος· Ἑρμῆς δὲ καὶ Μοῦσαι καὶ λόγοι οὐδὲν ἱερόν, οὐδέν τι πρὸς ἄλφιτα.

Ἵν' οὖν μὴ λιμοῦ θᾶττον ἔργον γενοίμεθα, δεῖ δὴ κατασοφίσασθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ· τὸ δ' ἔστι, πρὸς φρέαρ προσιόντα ζώων κοιλίας πλύνειν, ἵν' εὐθέως δοκοῖμεν ἂν διακονικοὶ καὶ κοιλίας ἡμετέρας θεραπευταί, ταὐτὰ δρῶντες τῷ τῆς κωμῳδίας Ἑρμῇ. ἢν γὰρ ἄλλως προσίωμεν, ἡττημένοι γαστρός, οἷς θητεύομεν ἀπαιτήσοντες, οἱ δέ, δέον φαιδρῷ προσώπῳ προσήσεσθαι, τοὐναντίον εὐθὺς συνήγαγον τὰς ὀφρῦς καί, τοὐπισκύνιον κατασπάσαντες, σκυθρωπάζειν ὑπεκρίναντο. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ καπυρὸν ἀνεκάγχασαν, ταὐτὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐγκαλοῦντες ἡμῖν, ἅπερ οἱ τοῦ μύθου τοὺς τέττιγας μύρμηκες, καὶ πεπονθότες ἴσμεν εἰς κενὸν νευρᾶς κτύπον ψαλάττοντες καὶ μέλη φορμίζοντες ἄσιτα καὶ ἀδώρητα, οὐκ οἶδ'

35 Ἴρου πενέστερος: cf. Ioh. Chrys. in epistulam ad Ephesios (PG 62: 147 A) κἂν Ἴρου πενέστερον γενέσθαι; Procopius Gazaeus, ep. 75, 99 (41, 2; 53, 16 Garzya – Loenertz); Salzmann 28 || **38** οὐδὲν ἱερόν: Apostol. 13, 34 (CPG II 581-582) λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων; Karathanasis 24-25 || **40-41** πρὸς φρέαρ – διακονικοί: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 1168 καὶ πλῦνέ γε αὐτὸς προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ τὰς κοιλίας, ἵν' εὐθέως διακονικὸς εἶναι δοκῇς || **47** καπυρὸν ἀνεκάγχασαν: cf. Man. Phil. Carmina 41 (II, 295, 1 Miller) Τίς οὐ γελάσει καπυρὸν καὶ καγχάσει || **49-50** εἰς κενὸν – ἀδώρητα: cf. Lycophr. Alex. 139-140; Mant. Prov. 1, 47 (CPG II 752) εἰς κενὸν κρούειν τὰς χορδάς: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσίτως καὶ ἀδώρως κιθαριζόντων

40 προσιόντα ex προσιόντες corr P || **47** οἱ P || **48** μυρμῆκες LPdTheil

Consequently truly happy would be the gardeners and the peasants and their children who have a full purse and a bag fuller than their belly. Hermes, the Muses, and scholarship are not deemed worthy of a sacred place, never mind one's daily bread.

In order then not to fall victims of famine very soon we must outwit the grievous situation; that is "I will take these guts, and wash them at the well, and so, at once, be Hermes ministrant"[12] and as a servant of my belly, performing exactly same things that Hermes did in the comedy. However, if I shall ever approach those for whom I work, begging for their help – compelled by hunger – they do not approach me with a happy countenance, as they should, but instead they right away make a face, furrowing their brows, putting up a show and assuming a sullen manner. There are some who even burst into loud laughter, reproaching me in the same way and with the same arguments the ants of the myth reproached the cicada, but I know from experience that "in vain I shall twang the noisy bowstring, making melodies that bring no food nor fee". I do not know which of the two these

12. Aristophanes, *The Plutus*, tr. B. Bickley Rogers, 465.

ὁπότερον περὶ ἡμῶν δοκοῦν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἴτε περιεῖναι εἴτε τεθνάναι· τεθνάναι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν μεταβάλοιεν – εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην, αὐτὸς δ' ἂν εἰδείης, ὁ διαιτᾶν ὀρθῶς ἐπιστάμενος.

θ′
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἰού, ἰού, φθεγξαίμην ἂν ἤδη προσφόρως, παρῴχηκε μὲν ἀμητός, παρερρύηκε δὲ τρυγητός· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πυραμίδες πλήρεις καὶ πίθοι, ἀμφορεῖς καὶ ἀσκοί, ἄγγη τε καὶ σκεύη εὐρυχανδῆ καὶ εὐρύχωρα καὶ ἀποθῆκαι, μείους μὲν καθαιρούμεναι, μείζους δὲ ἀνοικοδομούμεναι πρὸς ὑποδοχὰς πλειόνων. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ σιπύη καὶ πιθάκνη, ἡ μέν, κενή, ἡ δέ, στενή, καὶ ἄμφω κοῦφα· καὶ λιμὸς ἀγχιθυρῶν καὶ θανάτῳ θύραν παρανοιγνύς. παρεμυθεῖτο δ' ἂν ἴσως τὴν ἔνδειαν, εἰ παρακαθήμενος Ἥφαιστος χωλεῦον κόμμα καὶ κίβδηλον ἡμῖν παρεχάραττεν· ἦ γὰρ ἂν καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν ἀγαπητὰ τἀναγκαῖα, κιβδήλῳ κόμματιποριζόμενα, κἂν σπανίζοντά γε καὶ ὑπο-

---

9. 1-2 παρῴχηκε – ἀμητός: cf. Jer. 8:20 παρῆλθε ἀμητὸς || **5-6** καθαιρούμεναι – ἀνοικοδομούμεναι: cf. Luc. 12:18 καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μείζονας οἰκοδομήσω || **7** σιπύη – κενή: cf. Theoph. Sim. ep. 27 (16, 5 Zanetto) ἡ δὲ σιπύη κενή, καὶ ἡ ἄλως λιμοῦ μοι πεπλήρωται

---

3 τοις P || **6** ὑποδοχὰς ex ὑποδοχᾶς corr P || ὑποδοκὰς LPdTheil || **11** τὰ 'ναγκαῖα P || **12** τε (pro γε) LPdTheil

men think of me, to survive or to die; in my opinion to die, which is rather closer to truth and to reality.

If they would change their mind – otherwise, I could not know, but you should know, for you are in a position to arbitrate correctly.

9. To the Same

Iou, iou, I should utter now properly, the harvest season is gone and the grape gathering has passed. The store rooms and the wine jars, the amphorae, the wine skins and the other wide gaping vessels and large receptacles are now full in most households. Small store houses are torn down and are rebuilt bigger in order to receive more. In my household, however, my meal tub is empty, the jar is narrow and both are unfilled. Famine stands before my doorstep and sets ajar the door to death. Perhaps, Hephaistos would have consoled me for my poverty if he lived with me, minting faulty and counterfeit coins for me. Certainly, I would be gratified to procure with counterfeit money the desired essentials even if they are scarce and limping a little.

σκάζοντα. νυνὶ δὲ κἀκεῖνος, παρεὶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀργυροκοπεῖν καὶ παραχαράττειν, δρομαῖος ὁ χωλὸς ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο καὶ παρὰ Ταύροις καὶ Σκύθαις τὴν χειρωναξίαν ἀσκεῖ· καί, σκύτος ἐνημμένος διῆκον ἐς γόνατα γυμναῖς χερσί τε πυράγραν φέρων καὶ σφύραν καὶ γυμνο|σκελῶν, ἑστὼς ἐν λάκκῳ, μυδροκτυπεῖ, θερμοὺς κατομβρῶν ἱδρῶτας ἐπ' ἄκμονος, οὐχ ἥλους κόπτων καὶ σφῆνας, ἐφῷ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συγγενῆ τε καὶ κλέπτην ἀνασκολοπίσας προσηλώσειν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, κατ' ἐμοῦ δὲ κλοιὰ χαλκεύων περιαυχένια, περιβαλεῖν τε καὶ καθείρξειν ἐν Ἅδου ἀνατεινόμενος. οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐκεῖσέ τις Καύκασος ὑψηλός τε καὶ ὑπηνέμιος καὶ αὔραις Ὠκεανίσι καταπνεόμενος, οὐδὲ Προμηθεὺς ἐπῃωρησόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑποβρύχιος Τάρταρος Ἀχέροντές τε καὶ Κωκυτοὶ καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντες καὶ Τιτυοὶ καὶ Ἰξίονες κολαζόμενοι. καὶ δράσειεν ἄν με δεινά, εἰ μὴ σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκήν, Ἡρακλῆς προφθὰς ἀλεξίκακος.

p. 114

Οὐ μόνον δ' ἄρα τοιαῦθ' Ἥφαιστος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ᾧ

14 δρομαῖος ὁ χωλός: cf. Joh. Chrys. in nov. dominicam (PG 63: 930) χωλοὺς δρομαίους ἀνέδειξας || **18** μυδροκτυπεῖ: cf. Aesch. Prom. 368 sq. κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἥμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ Ἥφαιστος || **24-25** ὑποβρύχιος Τάρταρος: cf. Hom. Il. 8, 481 βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος || **25** Ἀχέροντες – Πυριφλεγέθοντες: cf. Hom. Od. 10,513-514 ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσιν Κώκυτός θ' || **26** Τιτυοὶ – Ἰξίονες: cf. Lucian. Menip. 14, 17; Libanius, Declamationes, XIV, 39 (VI 108, 3-4 Foerster) ἀκούων οὐκ ἠξίου προσέχειν ... τὸν Ἰξίονα, τὸν Τιτυόν; cf. Salzmann 12 || **26-27** εἰ μὴ σύ – ἀλκήν: Hom. Il. 9, 231 || **27** Ἡρακλῆς – ἀλεξίκακος: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 34

17 ἕστως LPdTheil || **26** Τυτιοὶ P

But now the lame fellow has gone away as fast as he could and practices his handicrafts among the Taurians and Skythians, leaving to us the minting and counterfeiting. Wearing a tanned hide which extends down to his knees he holds with bare hands a pair of fire tongs and a hammer, and standing with bare legs in a pit he forges a red hot iron, drenching the anvil with his hot sweat. He does not make nails and wedges in order to stake and nail on the Caucasus his own relative, the thief, but he forges an iron collar for me, threatening to carry me to Hades and incarcerate me. In that place there is not a lofty Caucasus sheltered from the winds and refreshed by the breeze of the Oceans, nor a Prometheus hanging on high, but the subterranean Tartarus and Acheron and Kokytos and Periphlegethon and the punished ones Tytios and Ixion. They will do unto me terrible things if you do not use all your strength, coming to my defence like another Heracles.

And not only Hephaistos deals with me like this. My horse

με βασιλεὺς ἐδωρήσατο, οὐκέτι δάκνει κατὰ Μορμώ, Λύκιόν τι θηρίον, ἀλλὰ κατεσπαθηκὼς βιβλία μὲν πρῶτα, εἶθ' ἱμάτια κατεβροχθικώς, ἔπειτα καὶ σάρκας διαλαφύξειν καὶ νεῦρα καὶ χόνδρους διαμασσήσεσθαι καὶ ὀστᾶ συντρίψειν καὶ στέαρ ἐκμυελίσειν καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ Ἡφαίστου καὶ θανάτου χείρω με δράσειν ἐπαπειλεῖ. ἑστὼς γὰρ ἀπὸ φάτνης κενὸς τῷ μὴ ἀκοστᾶν μηδὲ προσπτύειν ἀχύροις ξηροῖς εὐπορεῖν κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐκμέμηνεν, οἷς παρ' Ἀρκάσιν ἱππομανοῦς γεγευμένοις ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπαραγμοῦ.

Ἐγὼ δέ, πρὶν ἀρκύων εἴσω πεσεῖν, κἂν ἀπεδόμην ἀργυριδίου καὶ εἱστιάθην· τίς δ' ὠνήσαιτ' ἂν ὕδραν τοιαύτην ἢ χάρυβδιν; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπογόνων ἔστι Βορέου, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄκρων ἀνθερίκων ἰχνεύειν μεμάθηκεν, οὐδ' ὁμοῖος θέειν ἀνέμοισιν, ἀλλά τις ἐστὶ στατός, ἐοικὼς χειρὶ γεγλυμμένῳ τεχνίτου. ἢν δὲ καὶ κινηθῆναι δεήσειε πώποτε, δεῖ δὴ Βορέου σφοδροῦ, μικρὸν ὑπανακουφίσοντος. αἱρεῖ δέ με καὶ δέος μὴ τῷ πάντῃ πεζεύειν τῆς βασιλέως ἀποφοιτᾶν προσκυνήσεως.

Σὸν ἔργον οὖν ἂν εἴη, τοῦ ποριμωτάτου νοῦ, ἢ πρὸς ὅ τι βέλτιον ἐπαρκέσαι ἢ μὴν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦτο δὴ φθεγγομένου μου, τὸ ἰού, ἰού.

29 δάκνει – Μορμώ: Theocr. 15, 40 Μορμώ, δάκνει ἵππος; Salzmann 13 || **32-33** στέαρ – ἐκμυελίσειν: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 31 || **35-37** κατὰ τοὺς – σπαραγμοῦ: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 || **38** ἀρκύων – πεσεῖν: cf. Eur. Cycl. 196 ἀρκύων μολεῖν ἔσω || **40-41** οὐδ' – μεμάθηκεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 18

29 καθὰ LPdTheil, fort recte || **38** ἀπεδόμεν LPdTheil

also which the Emperor has given me as a gift gnaws not like the Lycian beast Mormo, but at first squandered my books, then devoured my clothes and next threatens to tear apart my flesh and devour my tendons and my cartilage, break my bones, suck the fat out and threatens me with deeds worse than Hephaistos, famine and death put together. Standing famished in front of his manger, because he is not fed with barley and is not even supplied with dry straw upon which to spit, he has become mad like the horses of Glaukos which tore him to pieces after they had savoured the Arcadia plant which maddens them.

I would have sold him for little money long ago before I became his victim and with it I would have gotten something to eat, but who would buy such a Hydra or a Charybdis? He is not even a descendant of Boreas and has learned neither to fly over the tips of asphodel nor to be swift like the wind but he stands simply like a statue there, as if sculpted by the hands of an artist. If he ever needs to move he needs a strong north wind to help him a little in his start. I even fear that I will cease to render my homage to the Emperor since I must go everywhere on foot.

It would then be your own work, ingenious mind, either to help me improve my condition or to let me cry still iou, iou.

ι΄

Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

Ἐπαγγέλῃ μὲν τῷ διδασκάλῳ πολλά, πράττεις δὲ οὐδ' ὀλίγα, δέον πράξει τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν νικᾶν. σπεῦδε τοίνυν ὑπὲρ
p. 115 | φιλοῦντος πατρὸς οὐ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔργοις, προσέτι δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ μακρὰ καμόντος ὑπὲρ σοῦ, καὶ τὸ τῷ γήρᾳ καταπῖπτον ὑπάνεχε τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, λειτουργήσω μὲν ἐγὼ τῷ χρεὼν σιτοδείᾳ, ἀπερεύξεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἵππος τὸ πνεῖν καὶ πεσὼν δουπήσει, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν. εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀποδοθήσεται μὲν αὐτὸς ἀργυρίου, τραφήσομαι δὲ ἐγώ, εἶτ' ἐν γωνίᾳ καθεδοῦμαι καὶ παραβύστῳ, ἀνέκφορος μικροῦ καὶ ἀπρόϊτος· σοὶ δὲ πόνων μελήσει πολλαπλῶν ἀνθ' ἁπλοῦ, περί τε σίτου καὶ κριθῆς ἀναφέροντι. πρὶν οὖν πειραθῆναι δεινῶν, σπεῦσον λῦσαι προφθὰς τὰ δεινά.

10. **2-3** Ἐπαγγέλῃ – ὀλίγα: cf. Theoph. Sim. ep. 37 (23, 2 Zanetto) Ἐπαγγέλῃ πολλὰ καὶ πράττεις ὀλίγα || **6-7** ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. Mich. Chon. ep. 117 (196, 19-20 Kolovou) καλὴ δὲ οὐχ' ἧττον καὶ ἡ τῶν θρεπτηρίων ἀντιπελάργωσις; Apostol. 14, 15, (CPG II 607 sq.); Salzmann 79-80 || **8-9** πεσὼν δουπήσει: cf. Hom. Il. 4, 504 δούπησεν δὲ πεσὼν || **10-11** ἐν γωνίᾳ – παραβύστῳ: locus communis; cf. Joh. Chrys. in ep. ad Hebraeos (PG 63: 217) ἆρα ἐν γωνίᾳ ἆρα ἐν παραβύστῳ

4 πάτερος LPdTheil || **6** πατερὶ LPdTheil || **7** χρέων LPdTheil

10. To the Student Phokas

You promise your teacher a lot, but you do not make the least effort, although you should realize your pledges with deeds. Hasten to your father who shows his love not in words but in deeds and who has striven greatly for your instruction. Sustain the falling of his old age like the praiseworthy storks which sustain their parents. Otherwise, I will depart this life famished and my horse, falling down with a thud, shall belch forth his last breath, as the poet says. But if you wish, I shall sell him for some money and I shall feed myself, but then I shall crawl into a dark corner and I will not want to come out any more. Then you will have to labour much more than now, since you need to give only wheat and barley. Before then you experience such ills, come forward quickly and resolve the situation.

ιαʹ
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Χωνιάτης, ὃν χρηστότατον μὲν ὁ τρόπος, δυστυχέστατον δὲ ὁ χρόνος συνίστησι καὶ δαιμόνιον τὸ δεινόν — οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδὲ συμβαῖνον ἔστι τῷ τρόπῳ —, οὗτος δὴ Χωνιάτης, ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός, βίβλον Ἀριστοτέλους τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφε, σοῦ μὲν ᾐτηκότος, ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκομικότος. ταύτην ᾤετο θᾶττον ἐφ' ὅ τι περ ἧκεν ἐπανήξειν ἐνηργηκυῖαν· ὑπερημερευούσης δ' ἐς δεῦρο προσανιᾶται, οὐχ ἀποβαλεῖν δεδιώς, ἀπεμπολήσων δὲ τραφησόμενος. εἰς τοσοῦτο γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας ὁ σοφὸς περιέστηκεν, ὃν μὴ ὅτι γε μία βίβλος Ἀριστοτέλους, ὅτι μηδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἰ περιὼν ἀπεμποληθεὶς βίβλοις ἁπάσαις, ἱκανῶς ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα διέθρεψαν.

ιβʹ
Δουκαΐτῃ

Ἐγὼ καὶ πάλαι τὸν χρηστὸν Δουκαΐτην φιλῶν οὐχ ἧττον καὶ νῦν ἤδη φιλῶ καί γε φιλήσοιμι, ὅτι τε καλλίων καλῶν καὶ

---

11. 7 ἐνηργηκῦιαν LPdTheil || 8 δεδίως LPdTheil

---

12. 3 καλλίων – καλῶν: cf. Synes. ep. 76 (135, 7-8 Garzya) καὶ καλῶν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καλλίων

---

3 ὅτι ex ὅτε corr P

11. To the Grand Logothete <Theodoros> Metochites

Choniates, who is by nature very kind but whom circumstances and the dreadful demon have made hapless – this last does not agree at all with his character – this good and noble Choniates had sent to your excellency a book of Aristotle which you had requested and I brought to you. He had presumed that the book, having accomplished the purpose for which it was sent, would come back to him most quickly. But since the book to this day is long overdue, he is anxious not because he fears that he will lose the book but because he wants to sell it in order to get provisions. The prosperity of this wise man has so completely reversed herself that not only one book of Aristotle, but even if the philosopher himself were he in life and all his books were to be sold, it would not have sufficed to feed him.

12. To Doukaites

I have loved long ago the good Doukaites and I love him now no less and I shall always love him because he excels by far in goodness and kindness and because he is ready to offer friends what

χρηστῶν χρηστότερος καὶ ῥᾴων τοῖς φίλοις παρέχειν ἅττ' ἂν καλῶς ἐπαγγέλλοιεν. τοιγαροῦν δεῖταί σού τις δι' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ· ὁ δεόμενος γὰρ ἱερεύς, ᾧ δίκαιος εἴης ἄν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τυγχάνει δεόμενος, βοηθῆσαι, πείθοντος μὲν τοῦ δικαίου, πείθοντος δὲ τοῦ ἀξιώματος, προσθείην δ' ἂν κἀμοῦ, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ τῆς σῆς καλοκἀγαθίας. εὖ γὰρ δράσας τὸν ἱερέα σὲ δράσεις αὐτόν, ἐπιμᾶλλον μὲν σέβων Θεόν, εὐλαβούμενος δὲ ἱερωσύνην, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Φίλιον αἰδεσθείς.

ιγ'

Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους

Ἦσας – ἀλλὰ πῶς δοκεῖς; – ἦσας, οἷς ἐπεπόμφεις· ὅτι τε τὰ πεμφθέντα ἐξ Ὄρους ἁγίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ πεπομφότος πνευματικὴ τῷ ὄντι διάθεσις. ἀνθ' ὧν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σκεύους,
p. 116 | σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς χρηματίσαις, κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον, ἀντ' ἐλαίου, τῷ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς Ἀαρὼν μύρῳ χρισθείης, ἀντὶ κρόκου, μὴ λωτὸν ἑρσήεντα μηδ' ὑάκινθον, ὀσμὴν

---

11 τὸν Φίλιον αἰδεσθείς: locus communis, cf. e.g. Plat. Gorg. 500 b, 519c; Synes. ep, 49 (Garzya 90, 56)

---

4 χρησθῶν LPdTheil

---

13. 5 σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς: Act. Ap. 9:15 || **6** τῷ ἐπὶ – μύρῳ: cf. Ps. 132:2 ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ... Ἀαρὼν || **7** ἀντὶ κρόκου – ὑάκινθον: cf.Hom. Il. 14, 348 λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἠδ' ὑάκινθον || **7-8** ὀσμὴν δ' εὐωδίας: Gen. 8:21; Ephes. 5:12 et passim

they may need for a good purpose. Now someone beseeches you through me and I beseech you in the name of God. The suppliant is a priest and you would be justified if you help him by responding to his request. Justice and his office advocate for this, I would also add my person and not the least your goodness. The favour you do the priest will benefit you also since through it you prove above all your reverence for God, your respect for the priesthood, and in addition your regard for philios Zeus.

13. To the Protos of the Holy Mountain

You have made me rejoice – you cannot imagine how much – you have indeed with the things you sent me. Because the gifts come from the Holy Mountain and the sender's disposition is truly spiritual. For the holy vessel you sent me may you become a chosen instrument in the words of Paul the great Apostle, for the oil may you be anointed with the precious ointment which runs from the head of Aaron, for the saffron may you receive not a dewy lotus and a hyacinth, but the sweet savour of the Spirit

δ’ εὐωδίας σχοίης πνευματικῆς καὶ τὴν ἐν Παραδείσῳ χλόην ἀμάραντον καὶ ἀκήρατον. νεμέτωσάν τι καὶ οἱ δοίδυκες, ἀξιόλογόν τε καὶ πρόσφορον, εἴη δ’ ἂν ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέραιν χεροῖν τὰς ἀκενώτους καὶ διαιωνιζούσας τρυφὰς ἀριστᾶν.

ιδ’
Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πρωτοψάλτῃ

Ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πρωτοψάλτην, πιστῆς φιλίας τρέφων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ χάριν ἐπαγγέλλω μικράν· ἡ δ’ ἔστιν, ὀλύνθων πέμψις, ἐφῷ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐρινεάσαι συκᾶς, ἀντιπεμφθήσονται δέ οἱ σῦκα γλυκάζοντα. πάντως οὐκ ἄχαρι τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα, ὅτι μηδὲ Διομήδει, χάλκεια χρυσείων ὅπλων πρὸς Γλαῦκον ἀμείβοντι.

11 ἀκενώτους – τρυφάς: cf. Leo VI Sapiens Hom. 17, 364 (256-257 Th. Antonopoulou) τρυφῆς ἀπολαύων τῆς ἀκενώτου

14. 6 χάλκεια χρυσείων: cf. Hom. Il. 6, 236 χρύσεα χαλκείων; Karathanasis 35-36; Strömberg 58

5 σύκα P

and the eternal and pure green of Paradise. For the pestles you should also receive something special and appropriate for them – may you feast with both hands in abundance and perpetual luxuriousness.

14. To the Protopsaltes of the Emperor

The good and noble Protopsaltes whom I prize with true friendship I ask for a small favour: Namely, to send me wild figs in order to mature the fruit of my fig trees and in return for this favour he will later receive sweet figs. At any rate, the exchange is not at all adverse and so it was in the case of Diomedes who had traded his bronze arms for the golden ones of Glaukos.

ιε´

Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαδέλφῳ κυρῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ

Ἦν μέν, ὡς λόγος, ἔργον Δαιδάλου, δαιμονίως ἑαυτὸν σὺν Ἰκαρίῳ πτερώσαντα τῷ παιδὶ διὰ πελάγους ἐναερίους πέτεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον Κρήτηθεν, ἀποδρᾶναι μηχανωμένους τὸν Κρήτης τύραννον Μίνω, ὃν ἐπὶ Πασιφάῃ, τῇ παιδὶ μὲν Ἡλίου, Μίνω δὲ γυναικί, δολίως ἠδίκηκε Δαίδαλος, κἄν, Ἡλίου Δαίδαλον ἀμυναμένου, πελάγους ἔργον ὁ παῖς Ἰκάριος γέγονε, τὴν κλῆσιν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφεὶς τῷ πελάγει. ἐμοὶ δέ, τίς ἂν χρήσειε πτέρυγας πετασθῆναι κατὰ περιστερὰν καὶ καταπαῦσαι πρὸς σέ, τὸ ἐμὸν μέλημα, Σαπφώ φησιν ἡ σοφή; τίς δ' ἄν ποτε καὶ γένοιτο μηχανή, ἢ γῆν διαπεραιωθέντα μακρὰν ἢ θάλατταν διαβάντα πολλὴν ἐκ Βυζαντίδος ἐς Ἀλβανίδα καταῖραι κἀκεῖ τὴν λῆξιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῇ ἐφέσει χαρίσασθαι; ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Σειρηνείαν ἀκτὴν ἐφ' ἱστοῦ δεδεμένος παρήμειβεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥστ' ἐμφορηθῆναι μὲν τῆς

15. **3-9** ἔργον Δαιδάλου – πελάγει: cf. Nic. Basilac. Progymnasmata 18, 11 sq. (Pignani) || **10-11** πτέρυγας – καταπαῦσαι: cf. Ps. 54: 6 Τίς δώσει μοι πτέρυγας ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς, καὶ πετασθήσομαι καὶ καταπαύσω; || **11** ἐμὸν μέλημα: cf. Sapph. fr. 163, 1 (Lobel – Page) μέλημα τὦμον || **15-16** ἐπειὴ – ἠχήεσσα: Hom. Il. 1, 157 sq. || **16-17** Σειρηνείαν – Ὀδυσσεύς: cf. Hom. Od. 12, 178 sq.

2 κυρίῳ LPdTheil || τῷ] om. LPdTheil || **4** ἐναερίως LPdTheil

15. To the cousin of the Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos

We hear that Daidalos made in a incredible way for his son Ikaros and for himself wings and flew from Crete over the sea to the mainland bringing about their escape from Minos, the tyrant of Crete, whom Daidalos on account of Pasiphae, Minos's wife, who was the daughter of Helios, had treacherously harmed. Nevertheless Helios then took revenge against Daidalos, drowning his son Ikaros in the sea, which ever since is named after him. As for me, who will offer me wings to fly like a dove and come near you, the object of my care, as the wise Sappho says. Which invention could ever make it possible for someone to traverse the vast land or cross the great sea from Byzantium and come to Albania and there ending his trip to fulfil his wish? For full many things lie between us – shadowy mountains and sounding sea.[13] And if Ulysses sailed along the coast of the Sirens, bound to the mast, in order to be filled with their sweet music and at the same

13. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 15.

ἐκείνων μελιχρᾶς μουσικῆς, περιεῖναι δὲ καὶ τῷ βίῳ, πόσου με δοκεῖς ἐφεῖσθαι, λελυμένον καὶ ταῦτα, μακρὰν ἐκπτῆναι, τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σου Σειρῆνος ἀκροασόμενον; οὐδὲ γάρ, οὐδὲ τὸν Μέλητος οἶμαι, τὸν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀμίμητον, τοσοῦτον τὸν ἡδυεπῆ θαυμάζειν Νέστορα, ὅσον ἐμὲ τῆς σῆς Καλλιόπης ἐξῆφθαι, γλυκίω μέλιτος ἀπορρεούσης αὐδήν. τὸν Παλαμή- p. 117 δην δέ, τί τις ἂν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ φαίη σοφώτερον, ἐπ' ἐξευ|ρέσει πραγμάτων κυβευμάτων τε καὶ γραμμάτων σοφῶν; εἴ τις βούλοιτ' ἂν τοῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς παραθεῖναι τὰ σά, ἦν δ' ἂν ᾑρημένῳ μοι καὶ πάλιν εἰς μνήμην ἐπανελθεῖν Ὀδυσσέως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπῶν τἀνδρὸς ἐπομβρίας, νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότων χειμερίῃσι· τό τ' ἀγχίνουν καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμήχανον οὐκ ἂν ἐκδεδράμηκα, εἰ μὴ καὶ δεινόν τι τἀνδρὶ προσῆν, ὑπειλημμένῳ ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὔτως.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ μήθ' οἷόν τε πτερωθῆναι μήτ' ἐκπτάντι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφιέμενον ἀποτῖσαι, πλοῦν ἄλλον χρῶμαι τοῖς γράμμασι, πτερωτοῖς οὖσι τῷ μακρὰν ἀφίπτασθαι καὶ μέντοι καὶ πτερόεσσι κεκλημένοις τῷ ποιητῇ, οὐχ ἥκιστα δέ πως καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτῶν πέτεσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ

---

23 γλυκίω – αὐδήν: Hom. Il. 1, 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή || **23-25** Παλαμήδην – κυβευμάτων: cf. Theodosius Gramm. (52, 6 Göttling) μόνος δὲ ὁ Παλαμήδης ἐφεῦρε τὴν κυβευτικὴν τέχνην; cf. Salzmann 16 || **28-29** νιφάδεσσιν – χειμερίῃσι: Hom. Il. 3, 222 || **31** ζάκοτόν – αὔτως: Hom. Il. 3, 220 || **33** πλοῦν ἄλλον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4,15-16 || **35** πτερόεσσι κεκλημένοις: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 122 et passim

---

33 ἀποτίσαι P || **35** οὐχήκιστα P

time remain alive, how great do you suppose is my own yearning to undertake this long flight in order to hear your melodious siren and this without being fastened? I do not think that the son of Meles, the unrivalled poet Homer, had admired the sweet-speaking Nestor as much as I am inflamed by your Muse from whose tongue flows speech sweeter than honey. Palamedes had among his contemporaries acquired great fame as a most wise man on account of his inventions of the dice, the alphabet, and other things. If someone would wish to compare your accomplishments with those of our contemporaries, and I should bring to mind again Ulysses and the flood of his speeches which were like snowflakes on a winter day, I would not be able to describe your cleverness, diversity and shrewdness; moreover the person who would make a comparison of you shall face the consequence, being "deemed as a churlish man and naught but a fool".[14]

But since I have no wings and through flight I cannot fulfil the desire of my soul, I find recourse in the written word as the next best way, because the words of love have wings and can fly far away. For this reason they were called by the poet "winged", not least because through them one imagines that one can fly and join his friends and converse with them. In case you re-

---

14. *Ibid.*, I, 133.

ὁμιλεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐγκαλεῖς μοι λήθην τῷ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἡκέναι σοι γράμματα, κἀγὼ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντεγκαλέσω θεράπουσιν, οἵ, τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πολλάκις καταλαβόντες, οὐδ' ἐφάπαξ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀφίκοντο, κἂν μὴ γράμματα κομίσοντες, κἂν ἀπὸ στόματος ἐρεῖν. οὐκοῦν οὐδ', ἐδέξαντο – πῶς γὰρ ἄν; – οὓς οὐκ ὄμμασιν ἀλλ' ὠσὶν ἑωράκαμεν. αἰτῶ δὲ δοῦναι δίκην αὐτοὺς τὸ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, μηδὲν ἐρήμην καταδικασθέντας.

Ἢν ταῦτά τε καὶ γραμμάτων ἀξιώσαις ἡμᾶς τοῦ λοιποῦ, Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἡδονῆς· ἢν δὲ καὶ μετ' εὐεργεσίας ἐπηγγελμένης, βαβαὶ τῆς ἀποτίσεως τοῦ ὀφλήματος. οἶσθα τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἥτις, εἰ μὴ λήθαιον πέπωκας, εἰ δὲ καὶ πέπωκας, ἀντικεράσω σοι τὸ τοῦ μνήμονος. ἐμνημόνευσας, οἶδα, πιὼν τὸ πόμα, ἵππου τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ, ὃν ᾔτησα μὲν ἐγώ, σὺ δὲ πέμψειν κατένευσας κεφαλῇ, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀσφαλιζόμενος· τοῦτον σὺν γράμμασιν ἐλθεῖν ἀπαιτῶ.

ιϛ´

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Ἐγὼ μέν, ἄριστε καὶ μέγιστε λογοθετῶν, ὡς μὴ τὸν βασιλέα πράγμασιν ἀπείροις κοπτόμενον κόπτοιμ' ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ τε σῇ περιφανείᾳ δι' ὄχλου γιγνοίμην, ἐμαυτῷ δ' ἂν τἀναγ-

43 ἐρήμον LPdTheil

16. **4** γιγνοίμεν LPdTheil || **4-5** τὰ 'ναγκαῖα P

proach me for forgetfulness because I have not written you earlier, I should reproach in my turn your servants who have come many times to Constantinople and have not visited me even once, either to deliver a letter or at least to convey greetings. So it happened that they did not get any letters from me – how could it be possible – since I have not seen them with my eyes but only with my ears. I ask, instead of being punished to receive forgiveness and not to be condemned by default.

If you would grant this request and honour me soon with a letter, by Hercules, it would be a great joy. But it would be still greater if you would pay your debt and fulfil your promise. You know what is your debt in case you have not drunk the drink of forgetfulness. If you have drunk it, I shall pour for you the opposite drink, that of remembrance. Having taken this drink, I know that you have recalled the Albanian horse, which I asked from you and you consented to send – securing the promise by nodding your head. I demand now that the horse come together with your letters.

16. To the Grand Logothete <Theodoros> Metochites

Best and greatest of all the Logothetes! In order that I do not become a nuisance to the Emperor who is in any case burdened by countless cares or become bothersome to your excellency, I had decided to give up my work as a teacher and disassociate myself

καῖα περιποιοίμην, δόξαν ἀπερρωγέναι παίδων τριβῆς σχολάσαι τε καὶ συνεῖναι, περὶ γῆς ἐργασίαν τετράμμην, ἵν', ἐκποριζούσης τὰ ἑαυτῆς, τὴν ἀνάγκην παραμυθοίμην τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν λύτταν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀναστέλλοιμι. ἐλάνθανον δὲ τἀναντία πεισόμενος· ἀντιπεριέστηκε γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον μήνιμα, ἕτερα μὲν κεῦθον ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλα δὲ βάζον. καὶ γὰρ p. 118 οἷ γῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν κρηπίδων | ἀνεγηγέρατό μοι οἰκοδομήματα ἥ τε τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡτοίμαστο πρόνοια ἐπὶ χρέει τε χρέος ἀνάλωτο – ὑπεξηρήσθω γὰρ πόνος ἐπὶ πόνῳ – βίαιον ἐνέσκηψε, πρύμναν ἀντικρουσάμενον καὶ πάντ' ἀναλῦσαν ἀνέστησε. καίτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς μέν, οἵπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες μετῳκίσθησαν, Δήμητρος ἄλλη πλέθρα ἀρόσεις τε ἠδὲ καὶ ἔργα βοῶν ἀροτήρων· ἐμοὶ δέ, ποῖ ποτε γῆς ἰτέον; τὸ δὲ καὶ βοώτην ἀεργὸν τρέφειν καὶ βοῦς οὐκ ἀροτριώσας καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ πῦρ κεῖσθαι γεωργίας ἄρμενα, φάναι δὴ καθ' Ἡσίοδον, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐπιτετρίφθαι παντάπασι, τί τοῦθ' ἕτερον, ὅτι μὴ γῆν ἀροῦν Περσεφόνης καὶ Πλούτωνος;

10 ἕτερα – βάζον: cf. Hom. Il. 9, 313 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ || **14** πρύμναν ἀντικρουσάμενον: cf. Apostol. 14, 77 (CPG II 623) πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο; Karathanasis 90 || **18-19** βοώτην ἀεργὸν – ἄρμενα: cf. Hesiod. Op. 43 καὶ ἀεργὸν ἐόντα αἶψα κε πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ καταθεῖο; cf. Karathanasis 71-72

9 τὰ 'ναντία P || **13** ἀνάλωντο P || ὑπεξηρέσθω LPdTheil || **18** πᾶνθ' P

from the profession in order to become a farm worker and earn my daily bread from the fruits of the land so I could pacify my raging hunger. But I was mistaken in my assumption because I experienced the contrary. My wrathful destiny, however, brought down my hopes, burying one thing in her mind and bringing to light another. Because there, where I began from the very foundations to construct a building and make the necessary preparations for the cultivation of the land, whereby I shouldered greater debts – aside from my toil and labour – destiny attacked me violently by pulling back, upsetting and ruining everything. And while the others, who left the place changing abode, in their new homes possess land, oxen, and ploughs, I have nowhere to go. But to support an unemployed ploughman or feed the idle oxen or have farming tools hanging over the fireplace – to say it in the words of Hesiod, thereby running the risk of being condemned altogether – in what does it differ from cultivating the land of Pluto and Persephone?

ιζʹ
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ μὲν ἦν τῶν ἄκραν καρτερίαν φιλοσοφούντων, ἠνεσχόμην ἄν, καὶ περαιτέρω θέλων εἶναι φιλοσοφώτερος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μήτ' ἐκείνου τοῦ κόμματος μήτε τοῦ τῶν μηδαμῇ φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκούντων, μετῄειν τὴν μέσην, ἀσφαλεστέραν κρίνων τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα, περιδεδιὼς ὑπερβολῇ καὶ ἐλλείψει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μηδὲ ταύτης ὠνάμην, ποίαν τραποίμην ἀμηχανῶ. οἵ τε γὰρ τῆς προσδοκίας λιμένες ἐκλείσθησαν ὅ τε τῶν χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων πίθος ἐκπεπωμάτισται, αἱ δὲ φροῦδοι πρὸς ἀέρα πεπότηνται· καὶ κακοδαίμων ἐγώ, οὐχ ὅτι τετράκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις, καὶ ἰού, ἰού, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ τῆς κωμῳδίας.

Ἀλλ' ἤν, σοῦ τὴν βασιλέως ἐρυθροδόχην ἀναπετάσαντος καὶ τὸν ὑπογραφέα κάλαμον ἐξερύσαντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐεργετῶν ἐρυθρογραφήσειεν, ἐγὼ καὶ Κόδρου, φασίν, εὐγενέστερος καὶ Μίδου πολυολβότερος· εἰ δὲ μή, Διογένη τὸν κύνα θαυμάσομαι, σταλαγμὸν τύχης μᾶλλον ἢ πίθον φρενῶν προτιμήσαντα.

17. **8** τῆς προσδοκίας λιμένες: cf. Georg. Bardanes ep. ad Germanum II (106, 63-64 R.-J. Loenertz) ὁ ἐν προσδοκίᾳ σωτηριώδης λιμὴν || **8-9** ὅ τε – ἐκπεπωμάτισται: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 19-20 || **11** ἰού, ἰού: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 276 || **14** Κόδρου – εὐγενέστερος: cf. Greg. Cypr. 2, 94 (CPG II 109); Apostol. 8, 6 (CPG II 425); Salzmann 24 || **15** Μίδου πολυολβότερος: cf. Diogen. 8, 53 (CPG I 316); Karathanasis 37 || **16-17** σταλαγμὸν – προτιμήσαντα: cf. Diog. Sinop. fr. 2 (I, 256, 1 Snell) θέλω τύχης σταλαγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πίθον

3 φιλοσοφωτέρος LPdTheil

17. To the same

Were I a stoic philosopher, I should have endured all this, especially as my inclination would be to become further engaged with philosophy. Yet I am neither a stoic nor one of those who have no part in the study of philosophy, but one who has chosen the middle road, for I consider it the safest of the two, fearing both extremities – excess and scarcity. But since I had no gain from it, I do not know any more which road to take. The harbour of my expectations is now closed, the lid from the vessel of my good hopes is taken off and my hopes are vanished, tossed in the air. I am unfortunate not only four times, but ten thousand times, and as in the comedy I cry iou, iou.

But if you open the ink-pot with the red ink of the Emperor and hand him the pen with which he signs and if the Emperor in his benevolence puts his signature, then I will be as they say nobler than Kodros and richer than Midas. Otherwise, I will honour Diogenes the Cynic, who preferred a drop of good luck to a wine-jar of intellect.

ιη′
Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Γλυκεῖα μὲν ἡ γεῦσις τῷ μέλιτι, ὦ καὶ τοῦ Πυλίου Νέστορος μελιχρότερε καὶ γλυκίω μέλιτος ῥέων αὐδὴν ἤπερ ἐκεῖνος· τότε δ' ἂν τὸ μέλι γλύκιστον κρίνοιτο, ὅτ' ἂν οὐκ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τις γεύσαιτο, ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς ἐμφορηθείη. τί βούλεταί μοι τὸ αἴνιγμα; ἥδυνε μὲν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἐς κόρον δέ· ὠσὶ γὰρ ἄκροις ἐνήχητο. πεμφθήτω δή· φιλοπονώτερον γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεὶς p. 119 ὅσῳ μᾶλλον γνωσθήσεται, | τοσούτῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἥσει καὶ θαυμασθήσεται.

ιθ′
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἔδει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ παρεῖναι καὶ λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ γράμμασιν ἐγκαλέσαι σου τῷ παιδί· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ οἷόν τε, ὄχλου σε πραγμάτων περιστοιχίζοντος, ὡς μὴ παρὼν γενοίμην προσθήκη τις, γράμμασιν ἀπὼν ὁμιλῶ. ἴσθι σοι τὸν φίλτατον ὀλιγωρεῖν μὲν παιδείας, ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ ἱππεύσεως, ἀμέλει κελητίζοντά τε καὶ ῥυτῆρσιν ὅλοις ἐφιέντα περιελαύνειν τὰς ἀγυιὰς ἱπποδρόμους τε καὶ θέατρα περιθέειν, ἀγερωχοῦντα καὶ θριαμβεύ-

---

18. 3 γλυκίω – αὐδήν: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23 || 4-5 ἄκρῳ – γεύσαιτο: Zenob. 1, 61 (CPG I, 24); Diogen. 1, 29 (CPG II 5) ἄκρῳ ἅψασθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ || 6-7 ὠσὶ ἐνήχητο: cf. Nic. Chon., Historia (427, 23-24 van Dieten,) μηδ' ἄκροις ὠσὶ τὰ ἐπᾳδόμενα ἐνηχούμενος

18. To the same Grand Logothete

The taste of honey is sweet, I say this to you, from whose tongue flows speech sweeter than honey and who has surpassed Nestor of Pylos. Honey becomes most sweet, when one tastes it not with his finger-tip, but when he has richly enjoyed it. What is the meaning of the riddle? Your discourse gratified me but not fully, because I heard it only with the tips of my ears. Let it be sent to me and I will read it with greater diligence; and the more I deepen in the Discourse the more it will please and be admired.

19. To the Same

I should be present and deliver my charges against your son by word-of-mouth and not by post. But since it is impossible, as you are surrounded by many cares and lest my presence becomes an additional burden to you, I write this letter to you. You should know that your dear son neglects his studies and devotes himself to riding horses. He runs in the streets at full gallop here and there, rides his horse to the hippodrome and to the other spectacles in full arrogance, triumphant and parading as if he was

οντα καὶ ὥσπερ παρασήμοις τοῖς ἐστολισμένοις πομπεύοντα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νουθετηθεὶς πολλάκις οὐκ ἠρυθρίασεν οὐδὲ σεσωφρόνιστο, μαστιγωθῆναι δεῆσαν καὶ μεμαστίγωτο. πεμπταίαν σήμερον αὕτη μετὰ τὴν μάστιγα, ἐν αἷς οὔτε παρὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον πεφοίτηκεν οὔθ', ὅ φασιν, ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ λόγων ἐγεύσατο, χαίρει δ' ἱππείαις καὶ θυμελικοῖς ὀργάνοις.

Ἀλλ' ἢν ἀπῆσαν ἐσθημάτων λαμπρότητες καὶ ζώνη δερματίνη τὴν ὀσφὺν περιέζωστο, καὶ μήθ' ἵπποις ἐπωχεῖτο χρυσηνίοις, ποσὶ δ' ἐχρῆτο πεζεύουσιν, ἐκράτει μὲν αὐτὸς ἀλογίας, οὐ κατεξωρχεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ ἀλογία. ἐμὸν ἦν ἔργον ἀγγεῖλαι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ ψήφῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ μελήσει περὶ τοῦ σοῦ.

κʹ
Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Οὔτε τὸ αἰτεῖν ἀδεές, ἡνίκ' ἂν μὴ δέοι, οὔτ' αὖ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖν ἀσφαλές, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδεχόμενον, ἔχει δὲ παρ' ἑκατέρῳ χώραν εὑρεῖν, ὁπότ' ἂν δεόντως τις χρῷτο καιρῷ. τοιγαροῦν ᾔτουν μὲν ἐγκαίρως ἐγώ, σὺ δὲ κατένευες κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ

19. **13-14** ἄκρῳ – ἐγεύσατο: cf. adn. ad. ep. 18, 4-5 || **15-16** ζώνη – περιέζωστο: cf. Matth. 3: 4 καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ

13 πεφοίτηκε LPdTheil || **16** ἐποχεῖτο P

20. **3** ἀσφαλές] supra scr P

exhibiting the insignia with which he was decorated. But since he was many a time admonished and he did not blush neither was he brought to reason, he had to be whipped and he was whipped. Today is the fifth day after the flogging and he has neither appeared in the school nor has he, as they say, with his fingertips touched his homework, but he enjoys riding horses, music and theatrical spectacles.

But if he were deprived of his luxurious garments and wore a leather belt around his waist, if he did not ride horses with golden reins and instead went on foot, he would be a master over his folly and folly would not have him in her power. It was my duty to communicate all this to you. Thereafter, it is your task to take care of your son.

20. To the same Grand Logothete

Neither is the request without a risk when it is improper nor is it safe not to ask when it is anticipated, but both can be justified if one chooses the proper occasion. For this very reason and in accordance with circumstances I have requested something from you and you have given your consent nodding your head

πλειστάκις ὡμίλεις περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὁ δέ, χρηστὸς ὤν, ἐπηγγέλλετο τὴν δόσιν. νῦν οὖν ταύτῃ καιρός, ὁπόθ' ὁ μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς οὐ περὶ τὰς ἐν θαλάμοις νύμφας οὐδ' ἐν γαμηλίοις κρότοις, ἀλλ' ἐν Νύμφαις τῷ χωρίῳ, πλέθροις τε καὶ ὅροις γεωργικοῖς, ἐξόδοις τε καὶ προόδοις καὶ προνοιῶν ἐπισκέψεσι καὶ οἰκονομιῶν ἀρχοντικῶν ἐπιδόσεσί τε καὶ παραδόσεσιν, ὁ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεωδαισίας καθηγεμών. γενέσθω δὴ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λόγος, ἐπαγγελίας δὲ μᾶλλον συμπέρασμα διὰ σοῦ, τὴν ἀρχὴν καταβαλόντος τὸν σπόρον· ἐφέψεται γὰρ δικαίως τὸ
p. 120 θέρος τῷ σπείραντι.|

κα'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐγώ, τῷ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ Βαραγκάτῳ χάριτας ὀφείλων μακράς, ὅτι με πολλάκις νοσοῦντα παραλαβών, ἀρίστῃ τέχνῃ χρησάμενος, τοῦ τῶν ὑγιαινόντων συνέστησε κόμματος, Ἀσκληπιὸς σὺν Θεῷ δόκιμος ὀφθεὶς καὶ σωτήριος, νυνί γ' ἂν καὶ μείζους εἰδείην, ἀφορμῇ καθεστῶτί μοι γραμμάτων πρὸς λογοθέτην τὸν μέγιστον. οὗτος, ὑποζεύξας ἀνδρὶ τὸ θυγάτριον – ἦν γὰρ μόνον θῆλυ, τριῶν ἐνόντων ἀρρένων –, ὑπέστη μὲν ἕδνα τῷ κηδεστῇ, ὅσ' ἂν πατὴρ ὑποσταίη φιλότεκνος, ἀπέτισε δὲ οὐδ' ἡμίση· ποῦ γὰρ ἂν εὐπόρησε τῶν ὅλων, ἀνὴρ δεδυ-

10 προνοῖων LPdTheil || 12 ἱερεῦς LPdTheil

21. 4 τοῦ] in marg P

and have many a time spoken with the Emperor about me. The Emperor, kind as he is, had promised the gift. Now the time has come for this promise to be fulfilled, since the great treasurer is not busied with the nymphs of bridal chambers or with bridal feasts, but is busy in Nymphaion. For the supervisor of the sacred land-partitioning is constantly on the move, coming and going, measuring and setting the boundaries of farm lands, visiting pronoia holdings and bestowing and granting rich landed estates. Let then the talk be about me or better, let the promise materialize with your help, since you were the one who sowed the seed first. Certainly, the harvest will justly remunerate the sower.

21. To the same

I am deeply obliged to the good and noble Barangatos, because he received me when I was ill many times and by applying his excellent art restored my health, thus proving himself with God's help to be an approved and healing Asklepios. Now I am even more grateful to him, since he gives me the reason for addressing this letter to the Grand Logothete. This man married his daughter – the only female child next to his three male children – and promised a dowry to his son-in-law as a loving father would have done, but in the end he did not deliver even half the amount. How could he afford to pay the whole, being plagued

στυχηκώς, ἀπελαθεὶς μὲν πατρίδος βαρβάρων λῃϊσαμένων, γυμνὸς δὲ χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας ἀλήτης; ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐφεῖτο τῶν προικῶν ὁ κηδεστής, ὁ πενθερὸς δ' ἐνδείᾳ πεπίεστο, ἀμύνεται τὸν κηδευσάμενον ὁ γαμβρός, καὶ ἡ ἄμυνα θαυμασία, σχετλία δὲ μᾶλλον· ἀπολύσας ἔφη τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπᾶραι παρὰ νῆσον τὴν Πέλοπος, γαμετὴν ἑτέραν ἐκεῖ μνηστευσόμενος. καὶ οὐκ ἠπείλησε μέν, οὐκ ἐποίησε δέ, ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ λόγος ἔργον, οὐ λόγος.

Τὸν δυστυχῆ δὲ Βαραγκάτον πῶς οἴει, περιφανέστατε, βάλλεσθαι, ἀφορῶντα πρὸς τὸ φρύαγμα τοῦ δραπέτου; διώκειν κατόπιν ἠπείγετο, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἐκ βασιλέως ὑφωρᾶτο ῥοπήν. δεῖται τοιγαροῦν βασιλέως μὲν διὰ σοῦ, σοῦ δὲ δι' ἐμοῦ. ἐμοὶ δ', ἠρημένῳ μικρόν τι συνάρασθαι τῷ πολλάκις συναραμένῳ μοι πρὸς ἐπίρρωσιν, χεὶρ γένοιο συνεργός.

κβ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἄρει κοινόν, παροιμία φησί· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ χεῖρον, ὁπότε καὶ ὑπὸ Διονύσῳ Ἑρμῆς. αἴνιγμα δοκῶ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ λύεταί μοι τὸ αἰνιττόμενον. δάκνει μέ τις δήμαρχος ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων· δεῆσαν γὰρ ἐπί τινων στρατευσομένων κα-

13 προίκων LPdTheil

22. 4-5 δάκνει – γραμμάτων: cf. Aristoph. Nub. 37 δάκνει μέ τις δήμαρχος ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων

by misfortune, driven away from his homeland by plundering barbarians, stripped of money and property, wandering now in a foreign land? But the son-in-law wanted to have the dowry at the same time his father-in-law was pressed by want of means, and so the son-in-law paid him back and the payment was an excellent one or rather, a terrible one: He told him that he is leaving his wife and going to the Peloponnese to marry another woman there. And he did not just threaten and do nothing, but his word became deed, for it was not an empty word.

Can you can imagine, most eminent Lord, how the wretched Barangatos was affected by the insolence of the fugitive? He would have pursued him if he had not feared the intervention of the Emperor. For this reason he petitions the Emperor for help through you and you through me. Extend your helping hand to me and support me in my endeavour to help the one who has often helped me to regain my health.

22. To the Same

There is nothing in common between Hermes and Ares, says the proverb. But the connection becomes still worse when Hermes is placed under Dionysus. What I say seems like a riddle, but I will explain what I have said. A bailiff out of my studies is biting

ταστῆναι λοχαγοὺς καὶ δεκάρχους, καί τις κατέστη τῶν ἐν γειτόνων μοι, εἰ μὲν εὖ εἰδὼς καὶ μάχης, εἰδεῖεν ἂν ἄλλοι, ὅπως δ' ἂν Διονυσίων ἔχων ἐστί, καπηλείων τε καὶ κύβων καὶ τηλιῶν δισκιδίων τε καὶ αἰγανέης καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τῶν ἐκδεδιητημένων εἰδὼς ἔχω μᾶλλον ἐγώ, τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ

p. 121 παροικῶν δεκάρχῳ. ὑπὸ τῷ λόχῳ τούτου | ἐννέα λελογχότων ὑπασπιστῶν, οἳ μηδὲν ὑγιές, ὅτι μὴ τελῶναι, σιτῶναι καὶ οἰνοπῶλαι, κάπηλοί τε καὶ βάναυσοι καὶ σκυτεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος καὶ τοιῷδε προσᾴδοντες λοχαγῷ, παπαί, λαχὼν ὑποτάττομαι δέκατος, ὡς ὁ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δικαστῶν τῶν πινακίων τῷ πάλαι τυχὼν ἔσχατος.

Καίτοι, κἂν ῥήτωρ, κἂν φιλόσοφος, κἂν Ἑρμῆς αὐτὸς οὑμὸς οὗτος ἦν λοχαγός, ἐδακνόμην ἂν ὑποκείμενος· νυνὶ δ', οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος, οὐ σοφιστοῦ, οὐχ Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντος, Ἀντρωνίου δ' ἄντικρυς ὄνου ἢ Βοιωτίας ὑός, ἄλλως τε μηδ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι νεναυμαχηκότος μήτ' ὄντος Μαραθωνομάχου, ὑποκείμην ἂν ἀγελαίᾳ Κρομμυωνίᾳ συΐ; οἶδ' ὅτι σοὶ μελήσει, τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀναπνέοντι, Ἑρμῇ συστῆσαι τὸν ὑποφήτην· εἰ δὲ μή, κατεξορχήσαιντ' ἂν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν Ἄρης τε καὶ Διόνυσος.

9 δισκιδίων – αἰγανέης: cf. Hom. Il. 2, 774 δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέῃσιν || **14** πονηροῦ κόμματος: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 862 || **20** Ἀντρωνίου – ὄνου: Diogen. 1, 26 (CPG I 185); Macar. 2, 3 (CPG II 143); Apostol. 2, 90 (CPG II 285) Ἀντρώνιος ὄνος || Βοιωτίας ὑός: Macar. 2, 79 (CPG II 151) Βοιωτία ὗς || **22** Κρομμυωνίᾳ συΐ: cf. Plat. Lach. 196e οὐδὲ τὴν Κρομμυωνίαν ὗν

7 ἐγγειτόνων LPdTheil || **16** πάλῳ LPdTheil

me. When some citizens were drafted, it was required that commanders and decurions be placed over them, and one of my neighbours became a decurion. Whether he is an expert in warfare, others may know. But since I live next to this good decurion I know more that he is fond of Dionysus, taverns, dice, gambling tables, the discus, the javelin and of all kinds of luxury. Nine good-for-nothing guardsmen, tax collectors, corn and wine sellers, tavern keepers, manual labourers, tanners, and other such vulgar people, all like their commander, have been assigned to his company. Alas, my lot placed me under him as the tenth person, like that Athenian judge in antiquity who had to take the last place.

And indeed, were my commander an orator, a philosopher or Hermes himself, I would be sad to serve under him. But now since he is not a Greek, not a sophist, not a servant of Hermes, but simply a big ass or rather a pig from Boeotia who fought neither at Marathon nor at Salamis, should I place myself under this vulgar swine? I know that you who breathes Hermes will take care to unite Hermes with his interpreter. For otherwise Ares and Dionysos will mock Hermes and the Muses.

κγ′
Σκληρῷ γραμματικῷ πατριαρχικῷ

Πανάρετος ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἐκ πάσης μὲν συνειλοχὼς ἀρετῆς, τοῖς τρόποις δὲ συστήσας αὐτήν, ἢ μᾶλλον δι᾽ αὐτῆς ῥυθμίσας τοὺς τρόπους, ἦν μὲν καὶ πρὶν τῶν πάνυ φίλων ἐμοὶ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἑταίρων, ἔστι δ᾽ οὐχ ἥκιστα νῦν, σὲ μὲν διὰ πάντων ἄγων ἐπαίνων, πτερῶν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο κἀμὲ καὶ φιλεῖν σε μᾶλλον ἐπαίρων, πλείω συνειδότα σοι τῶν καλῶν, ἅττα σὺ μὲν ἔργοις δίδως, συνίστησι δ᾽ αὔξων ὁ χρόνος.

Ἀλλ᾽ οἷα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οἷον δ᾽ ἂν ἐκσταίης, ἰδὼν ἐρριμμένον ἐπὶ κλίνης, φορτίον ἐλεεινόν, ὅσων οἴει δακρύων ἄξιον; κατείργασται γάρ, ἐξετάζεται δὲ μᾶλλον νόσοις δριμυτάταις ὁσῶραι. φαίης ἂν ἰδὼν εἴδωλον ἀνθρώπου τὸν ἄνδρα, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰκάσαις εἰδώλου σκιᾷ. ἔστι δὲ τῶν δεινῶν αὐτῷ τὸ παγχάλεπον τὸ μηδ᾽ ἐξεῖναι οἱ παρὰ τὸν πατριάρχην ἰέναι μήτε μὴν παρὰ σέ – φαίη γ᾽ ἂν Ὁμηρίδης –, ὃν περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖ. ἥκοντά με τῆτες ἐπισκεψόμενον ἠλίκον ἠξίωσε, πάντα κάλων κινήσειν πείσειν ὡς ἐκεῖνον παραγενέσθαι· οἰήσεται
p. 122 γὰρ παρόντος παρεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον | Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀναρρώσοντα.

23. 16-17 ὃν – φιλεῖ: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 430 τὴν περὶ κῆρι φίλησε πατὴρ || **17-18** πάντα κάλων: Greg.Cypr. 3, 55 (CPG I 372); Apostol. 13, 88 (CPG II 600) πάντα κάλων σείειν; Karathanasis 80

7-8 συνειδότας οἱ LPdTheil || **13** ὁ σῶραι LPdTheil

23. To the Patriarchal secretary Skleros

The good and noble Panaretos, who received this name from the sum of his virtues and affirmed it through his character – or rather, his character was influenced by his name –, has been one of my best friends and the closest of my companions and remains so not the least to this day. He speaks of you with all kinds of praise inspiring me to such words and encouraging me to a greater friendship towards you, although I am in a better position than he to know your kindness, which you show through your deeds and which time increases and strengthens.

But alas, what has befallen the man. You would be appalled if you would see how he lies in bed, a pitiful burden worthy of tears. For he is already worn out and distressed constantly by severe illness. You would say, if you would see him, that the man is only a semblance of a man or you may have supposed that he is a shadow of an image. The worst of all for him is that he does not have any access to the Patriarch or to you, the one he loves in a heartfelt way as Homer would say. When I came to visit him yesterday, he strongly asked me to use all means in order to persuade you to come and visit him. He thinks that when you are present Asklepios will come personally to heal him.

Πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίου, νεῖμον τῷ φίλῳ τὴν ἔφεσιν· γένοιτο γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ συμμίξαντι βέλτιον.

κδ'
Φιαλίτῃ

Πρὸ τρίτης ταύτης ἡμέρας – ἡ δ' ἦν ἕκτη φθινούσης ἑβδομάδος –, γράμματα καὶ πόπανα πεπόμφειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἃ δὴ προσαγήοχε Κρόνος. ἀλλ' ἔχω μαθεῖν, τὰ πόπανα μὲν ἡδέως ἐδηδοκέναι τὸν βασιλέα, μήπω δ' ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὰ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτ' ὂν ἀναγκαῖον. ἵν' οὖν μὴ Κρόνῳ τἀμὰ καταποθείη γεννήματα, τῶν φιλτάτων δὲ στερηθείην ἐγώ, δεῖ δὴ Φιαλίτην, τὸν ἄκρατον κρατῆρα φιλίας, πεῖσαι Κρόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενηνοχέναι τὰ γράμματα, Φιαλίτην δὲ ἀναγνῶναι κἀμὲ δι' αὐτοῦ γνῶναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ψῆφον τοῦ βασιλέως.

21 Πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίου: locus communis, cf Plat. Gorg. 500b, 519e

24. 6-7 Κρόνῳ – καταποθείη: cf. Hesiod. Theog. 459 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος || **8** κρατῆρα φιλίας: cf. Theod. Duc. Lasc. ep. 65 (94, 8 Festa) κρατὴρ φιλίας πλήρης

6 τὰ 'μα P

In the name of Zeus, the protector of friendship, fulfil the wish of your friend. From this meeting you would both benefit.

24. To Phialites

Three days ago, that is on the sixth day of the previous week, I sent letters together with a cake to be presented to the Emperor by Kronos. I have learned that the Emperor has eaten the cake with pleasure, but that he has not yet read the letters, though it was absolutely necessary. In order then that Kronos does not devour my fruits and be deprived of my beloved ones, Phialites, the pure vessel of friendship, must persuade Kronos to hand the letters to the Emperor. Next Phialites must read them to the Emperor and through Kronos let me learn of the Emperor's decision regarding them.

κε´
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἠιτηκότι σοι τὸν λόγον ἥκει μετὰ θάρρους, ἥκει δ᾽ οὖν οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῷ προτέρῳ· ἐπιὼν γὰρ τεχνικώτερον καὶ περιτυχών τινι συρφετῷ καθ᾽ Ἡρακλῆν ἀπέξεσα καθήρας, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖν, τῷ διαγνώμονι Ῥήνῳ τῶν τε γνησίων καὶ νόθων λόγων, εὖ γ᾽ ἂν ἔχοι· πλήν, ὁπότερα δυοῖν ψῆφος ἐξοίσεται, μηδὲν ἀμφισβητήσας ἀπόφηναι.

κς´
Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

Κονδύλους ἀπὸ καλάμων ὑπογραφέας, τῆς βασιλικῆς χειρὸς τοῖς κονδύλοις ἁρμόττοντας, ἐφῷ τὰ προστεταγμένα δι᾽ ἐρυθρῶν γραμμάτων κυροῦν, ᾔτησε μὲν ὁ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἐπώνυμος τρεῖς – σεπτὸς γὰρ καὶ θεῖος ὁ τρία –, πέπομφα δ᾽ ἐγὼ δύο συμβολικῶς· εἰ γάρ, ἅπερ ὑπογράφων ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐξ ὕλης ἐστὶ καὶ εἴδους, ἀναλογεῖεν ἂν οἱ δύο δυοῖν. τὸν ἕνα δὲ καὶ πρῶτον Θεῷ τῷ ἀΰλῳ καὶ ἀνειδέῳ τετήρηκα, ἵν᾽

25. 5-6 Ῥήνῳ – νόθων: cf. Julian. ep. 191 (247, 12-13 Bidez) ὁ Ῥῆνος ... ὃς τὰ μὲν νόθα τῶν βρεφῶν ὑποβρύχια ταῖς δίναις πέμπει; Mich. Chon. ep. 115 (192, 57-58 Kolovou); Arsen. - Apostol. 13, 1b (CPG II 569) ὁ Ῥῆνος ἐλέγχει τὸν νόθον

6 ὁποτέρα LPdTheil

25. To the same

After you have requested the discourse, it comes now to you in full confidence, since it does not come in the same form it had before. Reading it according to the rules of the art and finding some worthless stuff in it I cleared it up, I suppose in the manner of Heracles. If it befalls to you also, the Rhenos, the expert on pure and spurious works, it is all in good order. Otherwise, without circumlocution, indicate which of the two versions you prefer.

26. To the student Phokas

Writing-pens made of reed, fitting for the fingers of the imperial hands to grasp when the decrees are enacted and inscribed, have been requested by the man who is named after the Blachernae, three in number –a sacred and divine number is three–, but I sent him in a symbolic way two. If that which the Emperor undersigns is made of matter and form, then the two pens would match these two elements. But the one and most important pen I have reserved for God, the immaterial and invisible so that He would approve from on high the decrees of the Emperor in an

ἄνωθεν ἀΰλως καὶ ἀοράτως τὰ βασιλέως ἐπισφραγίζοι Θεός. ὁ δέ, χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ κυρίου χριστός, τοὺς δύο προσήσεται, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὰ δύο τῆς χήρας λεπτά. τούτους κομισάμενος ἀφοσίωσον, ὡς ἂν τὸ σεπτὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὑπογραφείη μοι πρόσταγμα.

κζʹ
Νικολάῳ φίλῳ

Ἀκήκοά σε μετιέναι ποθοῦντα τὸν μονήρη βίον, ἐφῷ θεῖα φιλοσοφῆσαι, καί, τῆς γνώμης ἀγάμενος, τῶν συμβιούντων οὐκ ἄγαμαι· | (p. 123) τὸ καλὸν γὰρ οὐ καλόν, ἣν μὴ καὶ καλῶς γένηται. πέπυσμαι γὰρ ὥς τινες τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ αὐθαιρέτων ἀνδρῶν πειρῶσι τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σε διαρρηγνύναι πληρώματος καὶ μέρος τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι κόμματος· ὅπερ πρὸς ἡλίκον κίνδυνον φέρον ἐστίν, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐκ ἐγώ, ἐρεῖ δέ σοι ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶτταν Ἰωάννης καὶ κοινὸς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος. ἅττα δέ φησιν, ἄκουσον· «εἰ βουλόμεθα τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλλήλων ἐχώμεθα. δύο γάρ εἰσι διαιρέσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ

---

26. 11 τὰ δύο – λεπτά: cf. Marc. 12:42; Luc. 21:2

---

27. 11-25 εἰ βουλόμεθα – ἁμαρτίαν: Jo. Chrys. Hom. in ep. ad Ephes. 11, 4 (PG 62: 85)

immaterial and invisible way. The Emperor, however, being kind and the Lord's anointed, will accept the two pens just like the Lord who accepted the two small coins of the widow. Deliver these two to the Emperor's hands so that the sacred decree of the benefaction may be signed in my own favour.

27. To the friend Nikolaos

I have heard that you desire to enter the monastic life in order to devote yourself to divine contemplation and although I admire your intention I do not at all admire your company. Because what is good is no longer good, if it is not performed in a good way. I have learned that some independent and self-governed men are attempting to tear you away from the body of the Church and make you a member of their own group. In what kind of danger it will get you, I shall not be the one to say, but the golden-mouth John, the mentor common to all and teacher of the Church, will tell you. Hear then what he says: "If we wish to rejoice in the Spirit, which proceeds from the Head, let us hold together. For there are two kinds of separation from the body of

ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος· μία μέν, ὅταν ψύξωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην, δευτέρα δέ, ὅταν ἀνάξια τελεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τολμήσωμεν· ἑκατέρωθεν γὰρ χωρίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ πληρώματος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους εἰς τοῦτο οἰκοδομεῖν τετάγμεθα, οἱ πρότερον σχίζοντες τί οὐχ ἂν πάθοιεν; οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεῖν ὡς φιλαρχία δεδύνηται· οὐδὲν οὕτω παροξύνει Θεόν, ὡς τὸ ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεθῆναι. κἂν μυρία καλὰ ἐργασώμεθα, τῶν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ διατεμόντων οὐκ ἐλάττονα δώσομεν δίκην, οἱ τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κατατέμνοντες πλήρωμα· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρδει τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐγένετο, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας τοιαύτης, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τὴν βλάβην. τί λέγω πολλήν; οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου αἷμα ταύτην δύναται ἐξαλείφειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν».

Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ χρυσὴ τῷ ὄντι γλῶττα. οἷα δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας τῆς οἰκουμένης φωστὴρ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παῦλος, ὁ κορυφαῖος ἀπόστολος, τὸ τοῦ κυρίου στόμα, ἡ τῶν θείων δογμάτων κρηπίς, ὁ στερρὸς θεμέλιος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν; «οὐκ εἰμί», φησιν, «ἄξιος καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος· ἐδίωκον γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν».

13-14 ὅταν – ἀγάπην: cf. Matth. 24: 12 καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν || **29-31** οὐκ εἰμί – αὐτήν: cf. I Cor. 15:9 ; Gal. 1:13

---

13 ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Migne || **14** δεύτερα LPdTheil || τοῦ τελεῖν Migne || **16** τὸ (pro τοῦτο) Migne || **17-18** δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν ὡς φιλαρχία Migne || **19** ὦμεν ἐργασάμενοι καλὰ Migne | **21** οἱ τὸ πλήρωμα κατατέμνοντες τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Migne || **24** πολλὴ ἡ βλάβη Migne || **29** ἐκλησιῶν P

the Church; the one, when we grow cold in love, the other, when we dare to commit deeds unworthy to that body. Because, in both cases, we separate ourselves from the body of the Church. If we, however, have been assigned to edify others for this purpose, what would be the consequence for those who have separated themselves in the first place? Nothing else can divide so the Church as the love of power. Nothing provokes the wrath of God as the division of the Church. Even if we have accomplished ten thousand good works, if we divide the fullness of the Church we shall not be punished less than those who cut to pieces the body of Christ. Because that was carried out for the benefit of the whole world, even though it was not intended so. But this has no usefulness at all except for the great harm it causes. Do I say great? Not even the blood of a martyrdom can wash out this sin".

Thus spoke the truly golden mouth. But what says now Paul, the great luminary of the oecumene and teacher, chief among the apostles, the mouthpiece of the Lord, the foundation of the divine dogma, the firm, solid foundation of the Church? "I am not", he says, "worthy to be called an apostle; because I persecuted the Church of God and tried to destroy it".

Ὁρᾷς ἡλίκον κακόν, τὸ σχίζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν; ὅρα τὸ συνάπτειν, ὁπόσον καλόν· «ὅπου», φησὶ Χριστός, ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεφαλή, «δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἰσι συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν». μὴ τοίνυν συναπαχθῇς ἀνδράσιν ἀγελαίοις αὐτονομοῦσι, πλανωμένοις καὶ πλανῶσι, μηδὲ δοίης εἰς σάλον τὸν πόδα σου, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἄγγελος νυστάξειεν ὁ φυλάττων σε· ἴσθι γὰρ ὡς, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν ὀρθὰ p. 124 τὴν ἐκκλη|σίαν φρονεῖν, ὀρθοτομεῖν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι γνησίως δογμάτων, εἰ μόνον ἀπεῖεν οἱ βάσκανοι.

Πείσθητι τοίνυν ἐμοὶ τῷ φίλῳ, συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος, ὡς ἂν μὴ μόνον εἴης ἀθλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίμως· ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ στέφανοι.

κη'
Τῷ κανικλείου

Μορμὼ δάκνει, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία· ἐγὼ δέ, μικρὸν ὑπαλλάξας, φαίην ἂν ἵππος δάκνει. καίτοι, βοῒ μὲν φύσις κερατίζειν, ἵππῳ δὲ λακτίζειν, ὥσπερ ἄρα Μορμοῖ δάκνειν. ἀλλ' οὑμὸς ἵππος, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθών, ὥσπερ ἐπιλελησμένος τοῦ

33-35 ὅπου – αὐτῶν: Matth. 18: 20 || **37** μηδὲ – πόδα σου: Ps. 120:3 || **36** πλανωμένοις – πλανῶσι: cf. II Tim. 3:13 πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι || **37-38** καὶ οὐδ' – φυλάττων σε: Ps. 120: 3 μηδὲ νυστάξῃ ὁ φυλάσσων σε || **42-43** εἴης ἀθλῶν – στέφανοι: cf. II Tim. 4:7

---

28. 2 Μορμὼ δάκνει: cf. adn. ad ep. 9, 29

Do you see how great an evil it is to divide the Church? On the other hand, consider how good it is to bring the faithful together. Christ the head of the Church says "where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them". Therefore do not allow yourself to be led astray by such self-governed men who live like a herd, who are misled and misleading others, "neither should you let your foot be moved", and the angel who keeps you will not slumber. For you should know that the Church also now more than ever preserves the right doctrines, expounds them correctly, and applies herself legitimately to the correct teachings, if only the slanderous would be kept away.

Let yourself be convinced by your friend, employ him as an advisor, so that you not only enter the contest, but enter it lawfully – from which also the crowns come forth.

28. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

The Mormo bites, says the proverb, but I changed it a little and I say, the horse bites. And indeed, it is natural for the ox to butt with its horns, for the horse to kick with its hoof, as also for the Mormo to bite. But my horse – what do I know how it thinks – as if he forgot his nature, transferred the energy of his feet to his

τῆς φύσεως ἰδιώματος, τὴν τῶν ποδῶν ἐνέργειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας μετήνεγκε. τῷ γὰρ μὴ εὐπορεῖν ἀκοστᾶν, πεινῆν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ σφετέρου δεσπότου ἐκμέμηνε καὶ ταὐτὰ δρᾶν αὐτὸν ἅπερ οἱ τοῦ Γλαύκου Γλαῦκον ἐπανατείνεται· οἷς, ἱππομανοῦς γευσαμένοις, ἔργον Γλαῦκος γέγονε σπαραγμοῦ.

Ἀλλ' ἢν μὴ τὰ τῶν βιβλίων προσόντα μοι κατεσπάθηκεν, ἢν μὴ θοιμάτια κατεδήδοκεν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν ἦν οὐ γενναῖος· νυνὶ δ', ὀργῶν συνεδηδοκέναι κἀμέ, ποῖ ποτ' ἂν τραποίμην φυγών; καταφύγοιμι δὲ πρὸς τίνα; ποίαις δ' ἂν πυραμίσιν ἐπεντρανίσαιμι; ὅτι μὴ ὡς σὲ καὶ ταῖς σαῖς, ὃς δὴ μόνος, οἷα λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῶν κήδῃ θεραπευτῶν καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, τῶν ἀδόλως καὶ ἀσκήνως φιλούντων.

κθ'
Βαρδαλῇ

Ἦν δέ τις ἄρα ὀφείλων ὁμολογοίη μὲν ὀφείλειν, ὀκνοίη δὲ τὴν ἀπότισιν, ὀκνῶν δὲ ἀναβάλλοιτό πως, οὐκ ἂν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ δεόντως κινοίη τὸν τῆς παροιμίας ἀνάγυρον; ἢν δὲ καὶ παιδείας μετεσχηκὼς ᾖ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ παιδευτῇ προσοφείλων ὑπισχνοῖτο μέν, οὐ δρῴη δέ, καὶ τοῦτο βλέπων

9-10 ἅπερ οἱ τοῦ Γλαύκου – γευσαμένοις: cf. adn. ad ep. 1, 33-34 | **16** Ἑρμαϊκῶν – θεραπευτῶν: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41 || **17** ἀσκήνως φιλούντων: cf. Synes. ep. 138 (241, 13 Garzya) ἀσκήνως ἠγαπηκότων

---

29. 4 κινοίη – ἀνάγυρον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 14-15

teeth. Since he does not have plenty of barley at his disposal, on account of his hunger he has directed his fury against his master whom he dares to abuse in the same way as the horses of Glaukos had assailed their master – they dismembered him after they had tasted the Arcadian plant which makes horses wild.

Had he not squandered away my collection of books and had he not completely devoured my clothes, I would not be such a coward. But now that he is eager to devour me, where could I flee for rescue? To whom should I turn for protection? To whose granary should I look? Naturally to your protection and to your granary, for you alone, as Logios Hermes, care for the servants of the god, and above all for those who love you honestly and sincerely.

29. To Bardales

If someone in debt confesses that he is in debt and yet hesitates to repay it, and by hesitation somehow he postpones it, would he not necessarily draw upon himself the stinking bean-tree foil of the proverb? Moreover, if he was an educated and intelligent man who was in debt to his teacher to whom he made promises but did not keep – and yet when he sees this very thing done to

ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ τῳ γιγνόμενον οὐκ ἀνάσχοιτο, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ δ' ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοκατήγορος κρίνοιτο; ἐγὼ μέν, οἶμαι, αἴνιγμά σοι λέγειν δοκῶ ἢ μὴν διεξιέναι ἐνύπνιον. ἀλλ' ὅ γέ φημι· ἐγώ, πρὸς ὃν θεραπεύειν εἵμαρτό σοι – καὶ εἵμαρτό γ' εὐδαιμόνως –, μεσίτῃ χρησάμενος, οὔποτ' ἂν γενοίμην ἀπ' ἐλπίδων οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἐξ ὑποσχέσεων· τυγχάνεις γὰρ ὢν ὀφειλέτης ἑκατέρῳ πράγματι, δεσποτείᾳ δηλαδὴ καὶ παιδείᾳ.

Ὁποτέρῳ τοιγαροῦν χρήσῃ, ὅτῳ δὲ μᾶλλον χαρίσῃ δυοῖν, p. 125 ἀμφοῖν ἴσθι κεχαρισμένος, | τῷ τε δεσπότῃ τῷ τε παιδευτῇ. καὶ νῶι δ' ἄμφω σοὶ χάριν εἰσόμεθα, ὁ μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν ᾑρημένος, ὁ δ' αὖ εὖ γε πάσχειν· τὸν μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ ἐστίν, εὐεργέτην εἶναι συστήσαις, τὸν δ' αὖ ἐπαινέτην εὐχάριστον καὶ ἐγκωμιαστήν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑρμῆς ἀγάσαιτό σε, σπουδὴν θέμενον συντηρηθῆναί μοι τὰς βίβλους, αἷς ὁ βίος κεκόσμηται, μήποτ' ἄν, πρὸς ἵππου μηδὲν ἀκοστῶντος καταποθεῖσαι, ἔρημόν μοι τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν ἀπολίποιεν.

11-12 οὔποτ' – ἀπ' ἐλπίδων: cf. Christ. Myt. Epigr. 55 (33, 8 Ed. Kurtz) οὐκ εἰμι τοίνυν οὐδαμῶς ἀπ' ἐλπίδων

20 ὀυχήκιστα P

someone else he cannot contain himself, but for himself he can endure it, - would he not bring judgement upon himself? I suppose that I give the impression that I am presenting a riddle or for that matter, narrating a dream. But what I want to say is this: if I would call upon the mediation of the one, whom you were appointed by fate to serve – and you were appointed in a blessed way – I would never be deprived of my hopes and you would not be released from your promises. For in both respects you happen to be in debt – that is, to the despoteia and the paideia [the ruler and the teacher].

To which one of the two you shall render yourself or to whom you shall rather grant a favour, you can be certain that your deed is offered to both the ruler and to the teacher. And you should know that we both shall be grateful to you, especially as the one is chosen to perform good deeds, and the other to receive benefit. In this manner you would encourage the one to act as a benefactor and the other as a pleasing eulogist and encomiast. Last but not least, Hermes himself would gaze at you with admiration, for you undertook the task to keep safe my books with which life is adorned lest they be devoured by my horse which has nothing to feed upon, and lest I be deprived of them for life.

λ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ μὲν παρῆσαν Αἰσχύλοι ἢ μὴν Εὐριπίδαι ἢ Σοφοκλεῖς τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ παρ' ἐμοί, ῥᾷστ' ἄν, ἀποδεδομένων αὐτῶν, οὑμὸς ἠκόστησεν ἵππος· ὀλίγον γὰρ ἢ μηδὲν ἐλυμηνάμην τῷ βίῳ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρες εἰσὶ θεολόγοι, Γρηγόριοι δηλαδὴ Βασίλειοί τε καὶ Χρυσόστομοι, κοσμικοὶ φωστῆρες ἀειλαμπεῖς, τίν' ἄν τις ἀποδόμενος τούτων δικαίως εἴη γ' ἂν ἀποδόμενος; μᾶλλον δέ, πῶς ἂν ἔξω δίκης ἑαυτὸν θείη δεινῆς; ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐμαυτὸν ἢ ῥημάτιον τηλικούτων ἀνδρῶν βουληθείην προέσθαι.

Σὺ δ', εἴ σοι μέλει, ἐπειδὴ δὲ μᾶλλον μέλει — φῂς γάρ —, ἔργῳ δείξεις ἢ λόγῳ τὴν μέλησιν, ἀπολύσας μὲν αἰτίας ἐμέ, ἀπολύσας δὲ τὸν ἵππον λιμώξεως, σεαυτὸν δὲ πραγμάτων.

λα'
Τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων

Εἶτα, ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ὁ καλὸς κἀγαθός, βασιλέα μὲν οὔποτ' ἂν παραιτήσαιτο πείθων εὐεργετεῖν — ἡγήσαιτο γάρ, εἴ ποτ' ἂν παραιτήσαιτο, καὶ βασιλέα γε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην ζημιῶν ἑαυτὸν ζημιοῦν —, Ῥαδηνὸν δ' οὐκ ἂν πεῖσαι, καὶ ταῦθ'

30. To the same

If I possessed the works of the tragic poets Aeschylus or Euripides or Sophocles, it would be easy to sell them for what they are worth and feed my horse. Thereby, I would have ruined my life just a little or even not at all. But since instead of them I have in my possession theologians, like Gregories, Basils and Chrysostoms, universal shiny luminaries, which one of these authors could I sell and at the same time be justified by doing so? Or to put it another way, how could he not draw upon himself a severe judgement? As for myself I would prefer to sell myself rather than a small word of such great men.

But you, in case you are concerned or rather because it concerns you – for you say so – shall show plainly your care through deeds rather than through words by clearing me from the accusation of selling the books of the holy fathers, freeing the horse from starvation and yourself from troubles.

31. To the epi ton Deeseon

After what has happened, the good and noble epi ton Deeseon, who would never refrain from persuading the Emperor to confer benefits – because had he once refrained from it, he would be unjust towards the Emperor, and would incur upon himself great harm – how he could not persuade Rhadenos, a man who has

ἠρημένον εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐμέ, τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ καὶ διδάσκαλον τἀνδρὶ χρηματίσαντα; καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σειρῆνος, ἐρεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον πειθοῦς, ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων, ἢ τῆς Ῥαδηνοῦ γνώμης περὶ τὸν φίλον αὐτῷ παιδευτήν; οὕτως ἔχω συνειληφὼς ἀμφοτέρους, ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἂν τὰς ἐμὰς διαφύγητον ἄρκυς, κἂν εἰ μάλα βούλησθον, καὶ συλληφθέντε δὲ μᾶλλον ἡσθείητον· τότε γὰρ ἄν τις ἀνιῷτο δικαίως, ὁπότ᾽, αὐτὸς γνώμης ὢν εὖ ποιεῖν, μὴ δέοιτ᾽ ἄν τις εὖ παθεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ πῶς δοκεῖτε καὶ δεῖσθαι καὶ τυχεῖν
p. 126 ἐφίεσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν θερα|πεύειν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν Φίλιον, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸν Ἱκέσιον, προσηκούσας εὐχαριστίας ἀποτιννύντα λαμβάνοντα;

Ὡς δ᾽ οὖν ἂν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ θάρρους εἰδείητε καὶ τοῦ ἀκραιφνῶς δεῖσθαι καί γε πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ θᾶττον διαναστaίητε, ἠκόνηται μὲν ἡ κοπίς, ηὐτρέπισται δὲ ἡ ῥαφίς, ὅ τε κοπεὺς ἡτοίμασται, νένησται δὲ ἁρπεδόνη, καὶ τοὺς κονδύλους ὁ ῥάψων ἐνίψατο ἥ θ᾽ ἑορτὴ ἐν γειτόνων· ἑνὸς μέντοι δεῖ, τοῦ κυρίου. ὡς οὖν μὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἀφέορτα, δεῖ δὴ θᾶσσον τὸ βηλάριον ἥξειν, τοῦ λαμπροῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων Ῥαδηνὸν πεπεικότος, Ῥαδηνοῦ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ πεπομφότος.

---

31. **11** τὰς ἐμὰς – ἄρκυς: cf. Greg. Naz. Orat. funebr. in laud. Basilii Magni (§ 23, 108, 9-10 F. Boulenger) ἢ τὰς ἐκείνου τῶν λόγων ἄρκυς διαφυγεῖν

---

6 ὀυχήκιστα P || **15** τούτῳ ex τοῦτο corr P || **16** ἐκείνῳ ex ἐκεῖνο corr P || **21** πὺς (pro τοὺς) LPdTheil

the good intention to benefit his friends, and among them not the least myself, for the very reason that I have been his teacher? Where is then, my dear epi ton Deeseon, the charm of your speech or I would rather say your power of persuasion or Rhadenos' disposition towards his dear teacher? I have caught both of you in such a way, that you cannot escape from my nets, even if you wanted it very much – but being caught you would rather enjoy it. Because one would be displeased with good reason only then, when he is inclined to render a favour and no one needs his benefaction. You can imagine how great is my need and my desire to secure this benefaction on account of which I opt to honour Zeus Philios for the sake of the benefactor and Zeus Hikesios for the beneficiary – that is, the god, who accepts the sincere gratitude I extend to him.

In order that you may know of my courage and of my utter poverty, but above all that you may be moved do a good deed more quickly, I say to you – the scissors are sharpened, the needle is threaded, the tailor is ready, the yarn is spun and the tailor has washed his hands and the feast is in the neighbourhood. However, one is still missing – the Lord. In order that it does not come after the celebration, the woollen fabric should come as soon as possible, about which the distinguished epi ton Deeseon shall persuade the good Radenos and he shall send it.

λβ'
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. οὔτε τὸ μακρηγορεῖν ἄμεινον οὔτ' οὖν τὸ πάντῃ σιγᾶν, ἐπειδὰν μὴ δεόντως ἑκάτερον γίγνοιντο· ἔστι γάρ, οὗ σιγῆς μὲν ἄμεινον λόγος, ἔστι δ', οὗ λόγου σιγή, ὁπότε δὴ δηλαδὴ καὶ τρόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ χρῷτό τις ἀριστίνδην. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Χριστὸς ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς μὴ βαττολογεῖν ἐνετείλατο καὶ Δαυὶδ οὐκ ἐν πολυλογίᾳ τὸν προσευχόμενον εἰσακουσθῆναι παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ Μωσῆς, στόματι μὲν μὴ βοῶν, κινήματι δὲ καρδίας ὁρῶν πρὸς Θεόν, «τί βοᾷς», ἤκουε, «πρός με;» τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον κἀγὼ καὶ σιωπῶν φθέγγομαι καὶ φθεγγόμενος σιωπῶ, ἐκεῖνο πάντως, ὁπότε τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα τὸ σὸν ἀγαθὸν ὁδηγήσειε πνεῦμα προσδοκῶν καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐπαγγελίας δοῦναι καὶ ἐλπίδος συμπλήρωσιν.

32. 5-6 ἔστι – σιγή: Eur. Or. 638 sq. ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγὴ λόγου κρείσσων γένοιτ' ἄν. ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγῆς λόγος || 8 μὴ βαττολογεῖν: cf. Matth. 6: 7 προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε || 8-9 οὐκ ἐν πολυλογίᾳ – παρεκελεύσατο: cf. Prov. 10: 19 ἐκ πολυλογίας οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ ἁμαρτίαν || 11 Ex. 14:15

2 ὡς δοῦλος] in marg P

32. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. Neither verbosity nor absolute silence is good, when neither is employed in a proper way. There is a time when "speech is sometimes better than silence, and silence sometimes than speech"[15] – that is how one best exploits the possibilities and the circumstances. For that reason, Christ had also commanded in prayer not to heap up empty phrases and David advised against loquacity if one wants his prayer to be heard. Moses also did not speak with his mouth but stirred in his heart he turned to God, and heard 'why do you cry to me?' This same word I also utter in silence and I keep silently uttering, expecting when the Holy Spirit shall guide your benevolent spirit to specify the appointed time of your promise and the fulfilment of my hope.

15. Cf. Euripides, *Orestes*, tr. A.S. Way, 179.

λγʹ
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. τἀναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα, παροιμία φησίν. ἔστι τοίνυν ἴαμα μὲν θανάτου ζωή, ἔστι δὲ σιτοδείας σιτοδοσία· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται. κἂν ἀνέλῃ τις τὰ πρῶτα, φύσεως ὄντ' ἀναιρετικά, συντηρηθεῖεν τὰ δεύτερ' ἂν συστατικά. οἷς ἀριστίνδην, ἄριστε, χρώμενος, βασιλεῦ, ἐντείναις μὲν κατὰ θανάτου παλίντονα τόξα ζωῆς, φαρμάττοις δὲ κατὰ σιτοδείας πεπυρακτωμένα βέλη σιτοδοσίας· εἶθ', ὡς τοξότης εὔστοχος ἀφιείς, μεταβαλὼν αἴφνης p. 127 εὐφυῆ | μίμησαι ζωγράφον καὶ συγκεράννυθι χρώματα ποικίλλων, οἷς συγκαλύψαις μὲν σκιαγραφίας θανατηράς, ἀναστηλώσαις δὲ εἰκόνας ζωηράς, ἀμφότερον, Ἡρακλῆς τε τοξικὸς Ἀπελλῆς τε γραφικὸς καὶ τὸ πᾶν, Σουσαρίων ἅπαντ' ἐπιστάμενος.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ νέμοις, γαληνότατε βασιλεῦ, αὐτῷ σίτῳ καὶ κριθήν· ἔχεις γὰρ εὐεργετήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ κατανεύσας κεφαλῇ, ὅπερ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐγγύης τεκμήριον Ὅμηρος μὲν Διὶ πρὸς χάριν, σοὶ δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις Θεὸς ἐπεβράβευσεν.

---

33. **3-4** τἀναντία – ἰάματα: Galen. De constit. art. medicae (I, 261, 6; 265, 12 Kühn); Theod. Duc. Lasc. ep. 61 (90, 12 Festa) καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα λέξω; Salzmann 49 || **8** παλίντονα τόξα: Hom. Il. 8, 266 παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων || **14** Σουσαρίων – ἐπιστάμενος: cf. Lib.ep. 21,1 (XI 595, 1–2 Foerster) Σουσαρίων ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπιστάμενος || **16-17** κατανεύσας κεφαλῇ: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 524 κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι

---

9 σιτοδείαν LPdTheil

33. To the same

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. Opposites heal each other, says the proverb. The cure of death is life and for famine [the cure is] the distribution of corn. And indeed these are opposite to each other. If one would undo the first – death and famine -which are disastrous to nature, the latter which constitute it would be preserved. Make good use of the latter, your excellency, by stretching your back-bent bow of life against death, shooting your fiery arrows of gratuitous corn against famine. But after you have performed as a skilled archer, change your disposition at once and imitating an accomplished painter, mix a variety of colours with which you may cover the drawings of death and be sure you would restore lively presentations. Thus you may become as an archer a new Heracles, as painter a new Apelles and in all else a Susarion who knows everything.

But besides wheat may you also grant me, most serene Emperor, barley. For you have promised this benefit and you have nodded assent, something that Homer acknowledged as a sign of the absolute surety of Zeus for granting a favour, but in truth God has granted it to you.

λδʹ
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου, ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. ἐπειδὰν σπάνις ἀναγκαίων κρατῇ, χώραν ἔχει τὸ αἰτεῖν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτός, καὶ ταῦθ' ὕδωρ αἰτήσας καὶ λαβών, θαρρεῖν αἰτεῖν καὶ λαμβάνειν προστέταχεν. οὐκοῦν ᾔτησα μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ σὸν δ' ἐπηγγείλατο κράτος· ναὶ μὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς παρὼν ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ μέσος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας παραληφθεὶς τὰς ἐγγύας τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐκύρωσε.

Περαινέσθων θᾶττον οὐκοῦν· καὶ ζῴης μὲν σύ, βασιλεῦ, συζῴη δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ.

λεʹ
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Πρὸς ἰατροῦ μὲν σοφοῦ τὸ μὴ τρῶσαι, σοφωτέρου δὲ τὸ καὶ γενόμενον φαρμακεῦσαι. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί τοῦτο; ἠνίασας μὲν σύ,

---

34. **4-5** Χριστὸς – λαβών: cf. Joh. 4: 9 || **5-6** αἰτεῖν – προστέταχεν: cf. Matth. 7: 7 αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν || **11-12** ἔς τ' ἂν – τεθήλῃ: Plat. Phaedr. 264d; Anth. gr. VII, 153, 2; Lib. Or. XVII, 34 (II 220, 12-13 Foerster)

---

10 θᾶττον in marg P

34. To the Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my holy Lord. When scarcity of goods prevails, there is a place for a request. Because Christ himself, who asked for water and received it, commanded that one should ask without fear and it will be given him. I have also asked and your administration made a promise; even more, my Emperor, by his presence and the promise he openly made, took upon himself the surety of the benefaction.

Now it must be fulfilled immediately. May you live long, my Emperor, and with you the joint Emperor "as long as water flows and tall trees blossom".

35. To the Grand Logothete

A wise doctor never injures, yet to heal the resulting wound it requires a wiser one. Why do I say this? You have offended me

ἠνιάθην δ' ἐγώ. τίνα δὲ τὴν ἀνίαν; φήσας ἠμεληκέναι με τοῦ φιλτάτου, δίς που γεγραφότος παριούσης ἑβδομάδος, δέον ὂν τρίς. τὸ δὲ καὶ γέγονε καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔστι, φάναι δὴ καθ' Ὁμηρίδην.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ βαβαὶ νοῦ σοφωτάτου· ἐνιεὶς τὸ κέντρον ἐμιμήσω τὸ τῆς μελίττης, ἀνέτου μου παραχωρήσας τοῦ μέλιτος. καὶ βάλλ' οὕτω, αἴ κέν τοι φόως μοι γένηαι. ἐμὲ δ' ἴσθι καὶ ἄκμονα καὶ σφύραν καὶ χαλκέα μιμήσασθαι, δρῶντά τε καὶ πάσχοντα καὶ μηδαμῶς ὑπενδιδόντα, εἴ πως ἄν, τῷ φιλτάτῳ τὴν γλῶτταν στομώσας, ἀκόνῃ χρησαίμην τῇ τέχνῃ.

λϛ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἶθ', ἥλιος μέν, ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐξουσιάζων φωστήρ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ παραιτήσαιτο δρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁσημέραι περὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον ὁρίζοντα κατιών, εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑῷον ἐπανιὼν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ φρυκτωρεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμοι, βασιλεὺς δέ, οὗ χάριν καὶ δι' ὃν ἥλιος δεδημιούργηται, παύσαιτό ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τρέχων ὁδόν, ἥτις ἀλήθεια | (p. 128) δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἔλεός ἐστιν, ἀκτίνων δίκην αὐτοῦ προϊόντα τε καὶ προπορευόμενα; καὶ

35. 6 τετελεσμένον ἔστι: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 212 τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται || **10** βάλλ' – γένηαι: Hom. Il. 8, 282 βάλλ' οὕτως, αἴ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι || **13** τὴν γλῶτταν στομώσας: cf. Mich. Ital. ep. 4 (90, 23 Gautier) καὶ ῥητορικῇ στομώσας τὴν γλῶτταν

4 ἀνίἀνίαν P || **12** πασχόντα P

and I also felt offended. What was the offence? You said that I have neglected your dearest son, who wrote twice instead of three times last week. But this has now happened and has already been brought to pass, to express it in the words of Homer.

But bless me, what is this supposed to mean, most wise man. By injecting the sting you have imitated the bee providing me with plenty of honey. And "shoot on in this wise, if so be thou mayest prove a light of deliverance"[16] to me. As for me, you should know, that I am the anvil and the hammer and that I imitate the blacksmith, who works, suffers and in no way gives up, so that perhaps by using my art as a whetstone, I sharpen the tongue of your dearest son.

36. To the same

And yet the sun, the ruling star of day, never refrains from fulfilling its duty, but day after day sets in the West and from there again appears in the East, without growing weary of illuminating the universe with its fire. But the Emperor, for whom and for whose sake the sun was created, is it possible that he would cease to run his own course, which is truth, justice, and mercy, and which emanate from him like the rays of the sun and show

16. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 359.

μὴν ἥλιος μὲν ὑποδὺς νεφέλην οὔτ᾽ ἐφωσφόρησεν ἔκλαμπρον οὔτε θερμοτέρας μετέδωκε τηλαυγήσεως, βασιλεὺς δέ, κἂν μυρίαις φροντίσι πραγμάτων ὡς βαθείαις νεφέλαις περιστοιχίζοιτο, οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὁπότε μὴ διασκεδαννὺς πάσας ἡλιοειδέστερος γίγνοιτο, ὡς χρυσός, ἑπτάκις πυρὶ χωνευόμενος, δοκιμώτερος ἑαυτοῦ καὶ λαμπρότερος. καὶ δῆτα, τὸν οἰκεῖον τῆς εὐποιΐας δρόμον περιϊὼν εὐκλεέστερον ἀποδείκνυσι τὸ ὑπήκοον. τὸν οὖν οὕτω μὲν προαιρέσεως ἔχοντα, οὕτω δ᾽ εὐεργεσίας, τί τις ἂν ἀδικοίη, δεόμενος μέν, ὑποστελλόμενος δέ; ὡς, εἴ τις, ἡλιακῆς χρῄζων θέρμης, στοᾷ ψυχροτάτῃ ἐπηλυγάζοιτο, ἢ μήν, ἀκμαίου θέρους δίψῃ φλεγόμενος, πηγὴν παραδράμοι διειδεστάτην καὶ πότιμον.

Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐχόντων ὅπως ποτ᾽ ἔχουσιν· ἐγὼ δ᾽, ὡς μὴ κινοίην ἂν τὴν βῶλον τῆς ψήφου κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ τῇ θέρμῃ προστρέχω τοῦ βασιλέως – ἥλιος γάρ – καὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐεργεσίας νάματος πίνω· κρήνη γάρ, ἀλλόμενα ῥεῖθρα προρρέουσα. ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη θέρους ἐφεστῶτος ὡραίου καὶ τοῦ στάχυος ἁδρὸν τὸν σῖτον ἐκπυρηνίζοντος ἐπισιτισμοῦ δέησίς μοι πρὸς βασιλέα. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθύς, οἷός τις καὶ φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄπορον ποριμώτατος, καὶ κατένευσε κεφαλῇ καὶ λήγων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπαγ-

13 χρυσὸς – χωνευόμενος: cf, Sap. 3: 6 ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ ἐδοκίμασεν αὐτοὺς || 21-22 ὡς μὴ κινοίην – κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ: cf. Lib. Declam. 31, 1, 4, 2 (VI, p. 9, 11-12 Foester) ὡς τοίνην ταύτην εἰκότως φέρω κατ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον || 24 κρήνη – προρρέουσα: cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3, 225 [κρήνη] ὕδωρ προρέεσκε || 27-28 ἄπορον ποριμώτατος: cf. Aesch. Prom. 904 ἄπορα πόριμος || 28 κατένευσε κεφαλῇ: cf. adn. ad ep. 33, 17-18

19 δίψῃ ex δίψει corr P

him the way? Surely, when the sun is covered by a cloud it does not shine any more his light forth and reflects much less his warmth. The Emperor, on the other hand, even if he is beset by infinite cares and affairs like heavy clouds, can still cast them aside and shine forth, his radiance brighter than the sun, just like gold which after it has been melted seven times in a furnace surpasses itself in excellence and brilliance. And what is more, by circling like the sun his familiar course of generosity he renders his subjects more honourable. How then could one injure a man who shows such a disposition towards benevolence if he is in need and yet hesitates to ask for help? It is as if one who needs the warmth of the sun withdraws himself to a cold portico, or being burned by thirst in the heat of the summer passes by a spring with crystal clear drinking water.

But such people may behave as they like. As for me, in order not to cast the pebble used in voting against me, I run to the warmth of the Emperor – for he is the sun – and I drink from the spring of his benevolence. He is indeed a spring overflowing with gushing water. But since a splendid summertime has come and the ears of corn yield abundant grain, my request to the Emperor concerns also a donation of grain. Being by his nature and office most helpful towards every kind of helplessness, the Emperor consented immediately nodding his head and ceased not from declaring himself ready for such an action. But because the

γελλόμενος. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν σφαῖρά τις ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτοκίνητός τε καὶ ἀεικίνητος, δεῖ δὴ τῆς φιλοσόφου σου γλώττης, οἷά τινος ἄξονος· καὶ θᾶττον ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν σφαῖραν τὸν οἰκεῖον δρόμον περιελιττομένην καὶ περιθέουσαν.

λζʹ
Λουκίτῃ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἡδὺ μὲν ἔαρ μετὰ χειμῶνα, ἡδεῖα δ' ἀπὸ ζάλης γαλήνη καὶ μετὰ νέφος ἥλιος ἥδιον· οὐδὲν δ' ἥδιστον οὕτως, ὡς μετὰ πρόληψιν λύπης ἐπιοῦσα χαρά· αὕτη γὰρ ὄντως ἁπασῶν ἡδυτάτη μεταβολῶν. ἡμῖν δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, τὸ λυποῦν ἀμετάβολον· οὔπω γὰρ τῆς προτέρας λύπης ἀφυβρισάσης – προτέραν δὲ λέγω τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνεμᾷ συμβᾶσαν τῷ μακαρίτῃ, ἁλμυρὸν θαλάσσης ὕδωρ πιόντι –, δευτέρας νέφος ἀντέ|πνευσε, κῦμα κυλίνδον κυρτόν, τραχὺ καὶ φαληριόων, ἄναντές τε καὶ κάταντες ἠδὲ πάραντες, φαίη γ' ἂν Ὅμηρος. τί δήποτε τοῦτο τὸ νέφος; Παῦλος ὁ καλὸς ἐν πόλει τῇ χρυσῇ Κωνσταντίνου – Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Χριστιανῶν –, τῇ περιφανεστάτῃ βασιλίδι τῶν ἁπανταχῇ γῆς πόλεων· ἠρινὰς δ' ἀηδόνας οὐχ ἧκε κομίζων μοι τῆς ἐμμελοῦς σειρῆνος ἡδυεποῦς Νέστορος, τὸν λιγὺν Τραπεζουντίων ἀγορητήν, τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέει αὐδή – τὸν γλυκυφραδῆ πρωτοβεστιάριον ὁ λόγος αἰνίττεται. πόσου δοκεῖς τὸ

p. 129

37. 9 κῦμα – φαληριόων: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 798 sq. κύματα ... κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα || **9-10** ἄναντές τε – πάραντες: cf. Hom. Il. 23, 116 πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε || **16** γλώσσης – αὐδή: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23

Emperor is like a sphere, one which moves constantly and by itself alone as the universe, he is in need of your philosophical tongue to function like an axis; and surely then one would see how quickly the sphere would revolve and turn round in her course.

37. To the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines Loukites

Delightful is the spring after the winter, delightful is the stillness of the wind after the storm and even more delightful is the sun after a cloudy sky. But nothing is as delightful as the sudden joy which dispels grief. This change is actually the most delightful. But for me I do not know how and for what reason, the grief remains unchanged. For a past misfortune has not yet ceased to rage – past I call the one which occurred to the late Anemas who drank the salty water of the sea – and against me a second cloud of sorrow burst, billowing and white with foamy waves, rolling ever upward, downward and also sideward as Homer would say. What kind of gloom do I mean? The good Paul came to the golden city of Constantine – Constantine, the first Christian Emperor – to the magnificent Queen of all the cities of the earth; but he brought me not a nightingale of spring from the melodious voice of the sweet of speech Nestor, the clear-voiced orator of the Trapezuntines, from whose tongue flows speech sweeter than honey – I imply, of course, the sweet speaking Protovestiarios. Can you imagine what turmoil this gloom brought against

νέφος τοῦτο πνεῦσαν ἐστρόβησεν, ὁπόσας καταιγίδας ἐνέπνευσε τῇ ψυχῇ; μικροῦ καὶ ἄνεως ἔστην τό τε τοῦ νοῦ σκάφος ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἦλθεν ἀνατετράφθαι καὶ βαπτίσαι κύμβαχον, εἰ μή με θυμὸς ἀνέηκεν ἕτερος καὶ τὸ σκάφος ἐπὶ κάραν οὔριον ἔπλευσεν.

Ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσειε Τραπεζοῦντιθεν ἀρκτῷα πνεύματα – οἶσθα τίνα ταῦτα – καὶ τάχ' ἂν οὐριοδρομήσαντες προσορμίσαιμεν, ἵν' ἔχοιμι συχνῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ὡρῶν ὑπομνήματα τοῖς θ' ὁρῶσι τεκμήρια, οἷός τις σὺ περὶ τὸν φίλον ἐμὲ παιδευτήν, ὃν ἄλλον <αὑτὸν> ἡγῇ σέ· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν φίλον φιλοσοφῶν Πυθαγόρας ὡρίσατο. κοσμικὸν μέλαν ἄμφιον πέμψον, δορὰν ἠμφιεσμένον, μὴ μέντοι κατ' ἐκείνην δὴ τὴν λεόντειον καὶ Ἡράκλειον, ἀλωπέκειον δέ· συνέστω δὲ τῷ ἀμφίῳ καὶ ὑπένδυμα, νημάτων ἐκ σηρικῶν ὑφασμένον, καὶ αὐτὸ μέλαν. φορτικὸν μέν, οἶδα, τὸ ζήτημα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ φιλίας εἰλικρινοῦς· εὐπορεῖ δέ σοι καὶ γνώμη καὶ χείρ, χορηγοῦντος οὕτω τοῦ κρείττονος. Θρηΐκιοι δ' ἄνεμοι, χειμῶνος δριμύτατοι, βορείαις νιφάσι πυκναῖς τῆς γῆς παχνοῦσαι τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τροχαλὸν

21 θυμὸς – ἀνέηκεν: cf. Hom. Il. 7, 25 μέγας δέ σε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν || **26-27** ὃν ἄλλον ἡγῇ σε: cf. Arist. Ethic. Nic. IX 4, 1166a31 ἔστι γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός; Nic. Choumn. ep. 95 (132, 21–22 Boissonade); Strömberg 76 || **35-36** τροχαλὸν – γέροντα: cf. Hesiod. Op. 518 τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησιν

26 ὡρῶσι LPdTheil || **27** φίλον] in marg P

me, how many storms it blew through my soul? I stood there almost speechless and the ship of my soul would have capsized from the stern, drawing me headlong to the bottom of the sea, if another power of the soul had not uplifted me and my ship had not sailed with a favourable wind straight on.

But if north winds would blow towards us – from Trebizond – you know what I mean – perhaps with a favourable sail I could bring my ship to anchor so that I might obtain memories of many days and hours and proofs of the friends I see; how true you prove yourself towards your dear teacher, whom you consider a second self. For thus did Pythagoras define "friend" in his philosophy. Send me then a worldly black cowl lined with fur, certainly not with a lion skin like that of Heracles, but lined with a fox fur. Along with the garment send me also an undergarment woven with silk threads, this one also of black colour. I know that this is a burdensome request, but it comes from a sincere friendship. Beside, you prosper both materially and in disposition, the Superior providing you so. The Thracian winds blow in violently winter, and with their thick-falling northern flurries they freeze the surface of the earth and make the old man run quickly, to put

τιθεῖσαι τὸν γέροντα, φάναι δὴ καθ' Ἡσίοδον, ἐμὲ δὲ γῆρας ἱκάνει ὁμοίϊον καὶ δεῖ δὴ χειμερίων ἀλεωρῶν.

Ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ἐγκώμιον, δι' ἐπῶν ἡρώων
ἐξενεχθέν μοι δὶς ἑκατὸν πρὸς πεντήκοντα, τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου
πέπομφα· ἔδει δὲ δήπου ῥαψῳδήσειν, ἠργμένον μή, καθ'
Ὅμηρον, ἀπὸ μυῶν καὶ βατράχων τὴν προθεωρίαν τῆς γυ-
μνασίας ποιήσασθαι, εἶτ' ἐπὶ πολέμους ἡρωϊκοὺς Ἑλληνικούς
τε καὶ Τρωϊκοὺς ἀνιόντα συστῆσαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἀλλὰ φιλο-
σόφων ἀνδρῶν, ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος, ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρό-
σωπον θέμεν τηλαυγές, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν βροτείων ἀναπταίη-
p. 130 μεν ἐπὶ τὰ θειότερα. | ἐπιὼν τὸ σύγγραμμα γένοιό μοι τοῦ
Κελτικοῦ Ῥήνου δικαστὴς ἀρρεπέστερος, μὴ δεκάσας εὐνοίᾳ
τὰς ψήφους· κἂν τῶν δοκούντων τὰ ἔπη, τῶν ἴσων τεύξῃ καὶ
σύ, ἐμοῦ τὸ ἐγκώμιον ἐξυφάναντος. ἐρρωμένος, Θεῷ φίλος
διαβιῴη μοι ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ τρισόλβιος πρωτοβεστιάριος.

36-37 γῆρας – ὁμοίϊον: cf. Hom. Od. 11, 196 χαλεπὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἱκάνει; Il. 4, 315 ἀλλά σε γῆρας τείρει ὁμοίϊον || **44-45** ἀρχομένου – τηλαυγές: Pind. Olymp. 6, 3-4 ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγὲς || **47** Κελτικοῦ – ἀρρεπέστερος: cf. adn. ad ep. 25, 5-6 || **47-48** δεκάσας – ψήφους: cf. Synes. ep. 1 (4, 14 Garzya) αἱ γὰρ εὔνοιαι δειναὶ δεκάσαι τὰς ψήφους

---

37 γράφεται τείρει] in marg P || **38** φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ex μεγιστᾶνος φιλοσόφου corr P || **49** τὸν P

it like Hesiod. Distressing old age presses hard upon me and makes protection from the cold of winter necessary.

I have sent to your nobility an encomiastic epic poem for a distinguished philosopher, composed by me in two hundred fifty heroic verses. I had to recite my verses, I suppose, beginning by way of a preliminary exercise, not with mice and frogs, like Homer, and then advancing to heroic wars between Greeks and Trojans in order to attain poetic perfection, but I started with philosophizing men. For just as Pindar says, we must place a far-shining front over our work's beginning, so that we may rise from the mortal to the more divine. Read my composition and become for me a judge, but more unwavering than the Celtic Rhenos, who does allow his decision to be influenced by his good will. And if you approve of the poems, you will receive a similar composition and I shall be the one to weave your praise. Healthy and protected by God, long may the golden and thrice fortunate friend, the Protovestiarios, live.

λη΄
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Καὶ λεόντων ἄρα σκύμνοι γήρᾳ καμόντας τοὺς πατέρας καὶ θηρᾶν ναρκῶντας, ὥστε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πορίζεσθαι θοίνην, οἵδε περὶ θήραν ἐξιόντες ἐξάγουσιν· εἶτα, σκοπήσαντες ἐπίτηδες τόπον, ἐγκαθέτους ἐφίζουσιν, αὐτοὶ δέ, περὶ τὸ τῆς ὕλης δάσος χωροῦντες, ὀπὰς καὶ λόχμας ῥινηλατοῦντες, σπήλαιά τε καὶ κρησφύγετα, ἐπειδὰν ἐντύχωσιν ἀνιχνεύοντες ἀγέλαις ἐλάφων ἢ συῶν κάπρων ἢ ζώων ἑτέρων – πόλλ' ἄττα γὰρ ταῖς ὕλαις ἐντρέφεται –, στιχηδὸν κατὰ κόσμον διώκοντες ὄπισθεν ἀντικρὺ τῶν ἐγκαθέτων ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δ' ἐξάπινα θορόντες ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐμπλησθῶσι, τὰ τοῦ κόρου λείψανα μέλπηθρα τοῖς σκύμνοις ἐῶσι.

Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν σκύμνοι τροφεῖα γεγηρακόσι τοῖς πατράσιν ἐκτίνουσι. δρῶσι δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ταὐτὰ καὶ πελαργῶν νεοττοί, ὥς φησιν ὁ περὶ ζῴων ἰδιωμάτων Αἰλιανὸς συγγραψάμενος, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν τῇ παροιμίᾳ θρυλλουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν. ἄνθρωποι δέ, καὶ ταῦτα λόγῳ τετιμημένοι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων δεσπόζειν ἠξιωμένοι, πολλοῦ δέουσι τοιαῦτα δρᾶν περί γε τοὺς πατέρας καὶ παιδευτάς. ἀλλ' ὁ Μα-

38. **2** sq., cf. Ael. Nat. anim. IX,1 (217, 18 sq., Hercher) || **10-11** ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' – ἴαλλον: Hom. Il. 9, 91 || **12** μέλπηθρα – σκύμνοις: cf. Hom. Il. 13, 233 κυνῶν μέλπηθρα || **15** ὁ περὶ – Αἰλιανός: Ael. Nat. anim. III, 23 (69, 15 sq., Hercher) || **16-17** ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7

8 πολλάττα P

38. To the Grand Logothete

Also young lions take out their parents for hunting, when they are already overtaken by old age and grown numb so that they may be provided with food. Then they seek out for them a proper place and let them sit there while they themselves proceed farther into the forest thicket, sniffing out the bushes, caves and hiding places. In their search when they chance upon a herd of deer or of wild swine, boar or other animals – for many such animals live in the woodland – they pursue them in rank and file driving them towards where their parents are posted waiting. And their parents leap suddenly stretching forth their hands to the good cheer lying ready before them. And when they have had enough, they leave the remaining of their satiety to their young as a plaything.

Such payment for rearing and bringing them up do the young lions provide their aged parents. And young storks act in the same manner, says Aelian, who has written on the properties of animals and this is the significance of antipelargosis, which became famous by the proverb. But human beings, although they have been honoured by the gift of reason and deemed worthy to rule over the irrational animals, lag far behind in performing similar deeds for their parents and teachers. Yet that prudent

κεδὼν ἐκεῖνος καὶ σώφρων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής, τὸν παιδευτὴν μᾶλλον ἔφη φιλεῖν, εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι πεπαιδευκότα, ἢ τὸν πατέρα, πρὸς τὸ ἁπλῶς εἶναι παραγαγόντα· ναὶ μέντοι, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἦγε τιμῆς.

Καὶ μήν, ἀνδρί τις ἐντυχὼν ἀλλοτρίῳ καὶ μικρὸν ἀργύριον ᾐτηκώς, ἔλαβεν ἢ μὴν οὐκ ἀκήκοεν οὐχὶ λήψεσθαι· φοιτητῇ δὲ προσιὼν παιδευτὴς βράχιστον ἄρτον αἰτῶν, ὁ δ' εὐθὺς συνῆξε τὰς ὀφρῦς κατέσπασέ τε τὸ ἐπισκύνιον καί, προσιδὼν ὄμματι βλοσυρῷ, σκυθρωπὸς ἕστηκεν ἔξαρνός τε μὴ προσεῖναί οἱ μηδὲ γρῦ, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. καὶ δακτύλιος μὲν Κο- p. 131 λο|φωνίου χρυσοῦ δοκιμώτερος κοσμεῖ τῶν δακτύλων τὸν μύωπα, ὁ δέ, περιστρέφων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ Γύγου πλέον φυσῶν ἐλεγχόμενος, οὐκ αἰσχύνεται καί, βοῦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης φέρων, τὴν δόσιν ἀναίνεται. ἐρυθριάσας τοίνυν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπανήκει κενός, ὥσπερ δεδειπνηκὼς ἐς Ἰκκοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τὸ τοῦ βασι-

---

20 Hom. Il. 3, 179 || **21-23** τὸν παιδευτὴν – παραγαγόντα: cf. Plut. Alex. 8, 4 || **30** μηδὲ γρῦ – παροιμίας: Aristoph. Plut. 17; Zenob. 5, 54 (CPG I 142-143); Apostol. 5, 64; 17, 3 (CPG II 352, 687); Karathanasis 41 || **30-31** Κολοφωνίου χρυσοῦ: Macar. 5, 27 (CPG II 181) Κολοφώνιος χρυσός; Salzmann 39 || **32** περιστρέφων – Γύγου : cf. Diogen. 2, 20 (CPG II 20); Apostol. 5, 71 (CPG II 353) Γύγου δακτύλιος; Karathanasis 36-37 || **33** βοῦν ἐπὶ γλώσσης: Diogen. 2, 2 (CPG II 18); Apostol. 5, 7 (GPG II 332); Karathanasis 106-107 || **35** δεδειπνηκὼς ἐς Ἰκκοῦ: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. II, 206,10 (van der Valk); Comm. Dion. Per. 376,11; Hotop 303

---

31 τὸν (pro τῶν) P || **33** ἀναισχύνεται LPdTheil

Macedonian Alexander, "both a noble king and a valiant spearman",[17] said that he loved his teacher who had taught him to live the good life more than his father, who had merely brought him to life. And indeed, he bestowed upon him every honour.

And surely if someone by chance comes upon a stranger and asks him for a little money, he would receive it or at least not hear that he will not have it. But if a teacher approaches one of his students and asks him for a small piece of bread, the student immediately frowns upon him, furrowing his brows and casting at him a fearful look, he stands up gloomily and tells him that he does not have even a bite, as the proverb says. And yet he wears on his small finger a ring made of gold – the gold is in fact purer than that of Kolophon – and he is not at all ashamed when he is told to his face that he is more vain than Gyges as he twists his ring around his finger, and while he carries the ox of silence on his tongue, he refuses the donation. The teacher returns ashamed and empty-handed, as if he had dined at Ikkos, and pro-

---

17. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 131.

λέως πρυτανεῖον χωρεῖ τραφησόμενος. καὶ νῦν οὔθ' ὁ μισθός ἐστιν οὔθ' ἡ τέχνη, καὶ θεράπων Ἑρμῆς ἀλογίας, κρέκων, ψαλάττων εἰς κενὸν νευρᾶς κτύπον, ἄσιτα κἀδώρητα φορμίζων μέλη.

Ἀλλ' ἢν τῶν βασιλέως νοταρίων ἕκαστος ἀργύριον ἓν κατὰ μῆνα βραβεύῃ μοι τῷ παιδεύσαντι, ὑφαιρέσει μικρᾷ καὶ προσθέσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἰσότης ἐξ ἀνισότητος, αἵ θ' ὑπερβολαὶ καὶ ἐλλείψεις ὡς κακίας ὑποθέσεις μακρὰν ἀποιχήσονται.

λθ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπειδὰν ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ τὸ πιέζον, οὔτ' ἐγγωνιάζειν οὔτ' ἐρυθριᾶν ἐστι χρήσιμον, τοὐναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνάγκην παρρησιάζεσθαι· κατέχει σπάνις με σίτου, ἧς λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος τέκνα, ἀδελφὼ διδυμάονε. προσιὼν ᾐτησάμην τοῖς φοιτηταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐσχασάμην τὰς κώπας ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς καί, ζητῶν ἄρτον, σπιλάσιν ἐνέκυρσα. πλοῦν ἄλλον τῷ σῷ προσορμίζω λιμένι καὶ

38 εἰς κενὸν – κτύπον: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 49-50

40-41 ἀργύριον – μῆνα] in marg P

39. **4-5** λιμὸς – διδυμάονε: cf. Hom. Il. 16, 672 Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν || **6** ἐσχασάμην τὰς κώπας: cf. Scholia in Aristoph. Nub. 107d (223 Koster) λέγομεν γὰρ ἔσχασαν τὰς κώπας, ὡς καὶ ... κώπην ... σχάσαι || **7** πλοῦν ἄλλον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 5-16

ceeds to the *prytaneion* of the Emperor to eat there. So not only is the salary now lost, but also the art, and Hermes becomes a servant of dumbness playing his lute and striking the chords in vain and making melodies that bring no food or fee.

But if each one of the Emperor's secretaries would pay me, their teacher, one piece of silver monthly, then by a small subtraction and addition from the inequality an equality would be achieved and moreover excess and shortage would disappear as causes of evil from the world.

39. To the same

When the need is pressing it is of no use to withdraw to a corner or to be ashamed, but on the contrary one must speak openly about his needs. Lack of bread has taken hold of me, the twin children of which are hunger and death. I approached my students and appealed to them, but instead I only plied my oars on land and, seeking bread, I came upon stones. After a second journey, I bring my ship to anchor in your harbour and lie in the

ταῖς εὐναῖς τῶν ἐλπίδων εὐνάζομαι· ἔστι γάρ σοι καὶ φύσις καὶ τέχνη ἐκ καταιγίδων καὶ ναυαγίων προσορμίζειν ὁλκάδας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ σοῦ λιμένος ἂν ἐξοκείλαιμι – ἀλλὰ μή, σῶτερ, μή, ἐλευθέριε – οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἐξ οὐρίων ὁ πλοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀντίπρῳρος καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἡ θραῦσις τοῦ σκάφους καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἠρτημένος ὁ κίνδυνος. ὃ μὴ σύ γε, ὅρμε γαλήνιε.

μ'

Λουκίτῃ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ

Δαίδαλον μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὸν πολυμήχανον δραπετεύοντα Μίνω τὸν Κρήτης τύραννον – ἠδίκησε γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἰς Πασιφάην τὴν Ἡλίου παῖδα –, μῦθοι πλάττουσι λῆροι δαιμονίως σὺν Ἰκαρίῳ τῷ παιδὶ πτερωθέντα καὶ διαπτάντα τὸ Φάριον πέλαγος καταπαῦσαι πρὸς ἤπειρον. ἐμοὶ δέ, τίς δώσει ταῖς ἀληθείαις πτέρυγας ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς; καὶ πετασθεὶς καταπαύσω πρὸς Τραπεζοῦντα τὴν καλήν· καλῶ γὰρ αὐτὴν καλήν, τοὐμόν σε μέλημα, Σαπφώ φησι, τρέφουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο τῶν

10-11 μή, σῶτερ – ἐλευθέριε: cf. Synes. ep. 132 (229,10 Garzya) μή, ὦ σῶτερ, μή, ὦ ἐλευθέριε || **11** ἐξ οὐρίων ὁ πλοῦς: cf. Salzmann 55

---

11 ἐξουρίων P

---

40. 2 sq., cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 3 || **6-7** τίς δώσει – καταπαύσω: Ps. 54, 7 || **8-9** τοὐμὸν – μέλημα: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 11

berth of hopes. It is in your innate capacity and in your office also that you can bring ships to your haven after a storm and shipwreck. But should I suffer a shipwreck in your port – may Zeus the Saviour and Deliverer forbid it – then there will be no more a journey with fair wind, but the hull of my ship will break at once in prow and stern and the danger will hang over my head. Do not allow this to happen, you the tranquil haven.

40. To the Protovestiarios Loukites

The foolish myth fabricates the story that the inventive Daedalus in his attempt to escape from the Cretan Minos – as he had offended him on account of [his wife] Pasiphae, the daughter of Helios – flew with his son Ikaros in an incredible way over the Pharian sea, landing on the continent. But in truth, who will give me wings like those of a dove to fly and land in beautiful Trebizond? I call her beautiful, for she nourishes you, my beloved one, as Sappho says. But since this is not attainable, I

p. 132 ἐφικτῶν, | ὡς χελιδόσιν ἐαριναῖς χρῶμαι τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔπεσιν οὖσι πτερόεσσι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, ὅπως ἂν δι' αὐτῶν αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀηδόνες λιγυρὸν ᾀσματίσωσι καὶ τερψιθύμου μελῳδίας ἐμφορηθῶ, καθάπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων παραμείβων ἀκτήν.

Ἀλλ' ὢ πονηροῦ δαιμονίου. ὅτ' ἔαρ ἠλπίζομεν, χειμῶνι ἐντετυχήκαμεν καὶ δεινῷ ναυαγίῳ περιπεπτώκαμεν· καὶ ὃ πόθος καὶ χρόνος μακρὸς ὤδινε, τοῦθ' ὥρας ῥιπὴ θαλάσσης ἔργον εἰργάσατο. Ἀνεμᾶς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅσον οὔπω προσδοκώμενος ἐπανήξειν, ὁ μὲν ἀπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πίεν ἁλμυρὸν Προποντίδος ὕδωρ, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς ἀέρα τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπηρευξάμεθα. καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος πενθεῖται, ἡμεῖς δ' ἀπολοφυρόμεθα. ἦσαν ἄρα δαιμόνια πνεύματ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀντίπρῳρα κύματα, ἅττα τριήρη φορτηγόν, ὑπερπλήρη καὶ παμμεγέθη ὄλβον ἄπειρον φέρουσαν, αὔτανδρον κατέαξαν καὶ κατέκλυσαν καὶ ἀπωλείας βυθῷ κατεβάπτισαν.

Ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσοι Θεὸς πραεῖαν αὖραν καὶ εὐκραῆ καὶ πλοῦν οὐριοδρομήσαιμεν δεύτερον, ὅρμῳ γαληνίῳ καταράντες.

11 ἔπεσι οὖσι πτερόεσσι: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 122 ἔπεα πτερόεντα || **19-20** ὁ μὲν ἀπόλωλεν – ὕδωρ: cf. Hom. Od. 4, 511 || **27** πλοῦν – δεύτερον: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 15-16

have recourse to your letters as if they were the swallows of spring – words being winged in poetical language. As such, the nightingale of your letters may sing sweetly and I will enjoy their delightful melody, like Ulysses when he sailed by the coast of the Sirens.

But what a misfortune is evil fate. When I had hoped for spring, I met with winter and suffered a terrible shipwreck. And that for which an ardent desire had long been labouring was swept away by the sea in an instant. Because that man Anemas, who was at any moment expected to return back, perished "when he had drunk the salt water"[18] of Propontis, and with it my hopes were blown in the air. And now he is mourned, and I bewail the loss. Those winds were indeed evil and cruel and the waves that rushed against the prow shattered the three-decked freighter, which was laden to the full with an immense, precious cargo, together with the crew, and flooded it and sank it to the bottom of destruction.

But may God send us a mild and gentle breeze so that we may venture a second voyage with a fair wind, landing in a calm haven.

18. Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 155.

Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οἱ φιλεῦντες ἐν ἤματι γηράσκουσι, Θεοκρίτειόν ἐστι γνωμάτευμα. ἐμὲ γοῦν φιλοῦντα πόσον οἴει γεγηρακέναι, τοσούτου χρόνου μήτ' αὐτοπροσώπως μήτ' οὖν διὰ γραμμάτων ὡμιληκότα σοι, ὅτῳ καὶ συζῆν ᾕρημαι καὶ συμπνεῖν; θάτερον γὰρ θατέρῳ συνέζευκται, κατὰ τοὺς Ὁμηρικοὺς Ἀκτορίωνας. ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ Τιθωνοῦ, ὃν Ἠώς, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ σύνευνον ὄντα, διὰ βαθὺ καὶ λιπαρὸν γῆρας ἀπέστερξε, γεραίτατος γέγονα καὶ μακρόγηρω κορώνης πεπαίτερος;

Ἀλλ' ἢν ἀνηβηκέναι με βούλῃ καὶ οἷον ἀνεζηκέναι, κατὰ τὸν ἀνεψηθέντα Πέλοπα ἢ μὴν Ὀδυσσέα τὸν πολυμήχανον, ἐς Ἀιδωνέως κατιόντα τῇ τε ψυχῇ τοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίου χρησάμενον, εἶτ' ἀνιόντα καὶ νεκροῖς τοῖς ἄνω χρηστηριάζοντα, κἂν γράμμασιν, ὡς τοῖς δι' ἐσόπτρων ἰνδάλμασι, φάν-

41. 2 Οἱ φιλεῦντες – γηράσκουσι: Theocr. Idyl 12, 2 οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἤματι γηράσκουσιν; Hotop 303; Strömberg 83 || **6** κατὰ – Ἀκτορίωνας: cf. Hom. Il. 2, 621; Greg. Naz. ep. 156 (II 47, 2 Gallay) δίδυμοι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὃ μὲν τὰς ἡνίας, ὃ δὲ τὴν μάστιγα μεριζόμενοι καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἀλλήλοις συνερανίζοντες || **7-8** Τιθωνοῦ – γῆρας: cf. Zenob. 6, 18 (CPG I 166; Apostol. 16, 57 (CPG II 676); Karathanasis 27 || **9** κορώνης πεπαίτερος: cf. Jul. Poll. Onom. 2, 16 (85 Bethe) ὑπὲρ τὰς κορώνας [βεβιωκώς]; Const. Manass. Brev. chronicum 6237 ἤριζε κορώναις μακρογήρως || **12** τῇ τε ψυχῇ – Τειρεσίου: cf. Hom. Od. 11, 90 ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο

1 sine numero P || **10** ἢ (pro ἢν) LPdTheil || **12** Ἀιδονέως LPdTheil

41. To the same

Those who love grow old in a day – this is a Theocritan maxim. But I, who happen to be in love, how much do you think I have aged, since I have not spoken to you in person or in writing for a long time, and this although I have chosen to live with you and breathe with you? The one is connected with the other, like the grandsons of the Homeric Aktor. I have grown older than Tithonos, don't you think, to whom Eos denied her love because of his sleek old age, although he was her husband and even older than the long lived crow?

But if you wish that I would become young again and return back to life so to speak, like the boiled and revived Pelops or the resourceful Ulysses, who descended to the realm of Aidoneus and encountered the spirit of the Theban Teiresias, and then again ascended to the world above and with the help of the dead he consulted the oracles for the living, let your sacred countenance appear before my eyes, even if only through letters, just

ταζέ μοι τὴν ἱεράν σου μορφήν. ἐπιὼν γὰρ ταῦτα συχνότερον p. 133 ταὐτὸν ἂν δρῴην ζωγράφῳ, ὅς, πολλάκις | τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς ἀρχετύπους πίνακας ἀνελίττων καὶ τῶν ἐκτυπωμάτων τοὺς γνώμονας ἀκριβῶς ἀναματτόμενος, ἐμφερεῖς τὰς εἰκόνας τοῖς πρωτοτύποις ἀναστηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ἐφιέμενον – πῶς δοκεῖς; – ἀφοσιοῖ τῇ ψυχῇ· ἐν γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ σωμάτων συνουσίας φαντάσματα γράμματα.

Ἴδοιμί σε βεβραβευκότος Θεοῦ καὶ ὄμμασιν αἰσθητοῖς· τοῖς γάρ τοι νοεροῖς ἐσαεὶ καὶ σύνειμι καὶ ὁρῶ καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν κατατρυφῶ τῆς ἡδίστης μοι συνουσίας τοῦ καλλίστου πρωτοβεστιαρίου.

μα´ <μβ>
Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ

Λόγος ἐπηγγελμένος ἣν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκβαίη, βέβαιος ἂν εἴη λόγος καὶ δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο λόγος· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐνύπνιον, μᾶλλον δὲ σκιᾶς ὄναρ. αἴνιγμα λέγειν ἔοικα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σοφὸν καὶ κρίνειν εἰδότα στροφὰς καὶ πλοκὰς αἰνιγμάτων.

20-21 ἐν γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ – γράμματα: cf. Synes. ep. 138 (241, 1-3 Garzya) δύνασθαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν… εἶναι παραμυθίαν, παρεχομένην ἐν ἀπουσίᾳ σωμάτων φαντασίαν τῆς παρουσίας

42. 4 σκιᾶς ὄναρ: cf. Pind. Pyth. 8, 95

1 μα´] sic P

as images in a mirror. I would read them quite often and I would act like a painter who many times during the day unrolls the original of his paintings in order to obtain impressions of the exact features of the original image, and sketches them so as to resemble closely the original. And the ideal form – what do you think? – he impresses upon his soul. For when bodies are apart, letters are the images of union.

May I see you God willing with my own eyes. For with my spirit I see you and am constantly with you and as it seems fully enjoy the most pleasant company of my most excellent Protovestiarios.

42. To Nikephoros Metochites

If a word of promise becomes a deed it certainly could be a reliable word and could be called so rightfully as it ought. Otherwise, it would be like a mere dream or even the shadow of a dream. I seem to speak in riddles, but also to a wise man who knows how to interpret the twists and subtle turns of riddles.

<μγ'>

μβ'

Τῷ μεγάλῳ διοικητῇ

Περιφανέστατε μέγα διοικητά· οἷά με δρᾶν ἀναπείθει πενία, ἀναγκάζει δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνάγκη τολμᾶν, ἧς τὸ σθένος ἀδήριτον; φορτικὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλων δοκεῖν, ὃ μὴ θέλω, ποιῶ· καὶ ὃ πάσχων μισῶ, τοῦθ', ὅπως οὐκ οἶδ', εἰμὶ δρῶν. αἴνιγμα μὲν ὁ λόγος, ὃ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· δριμὺς μὲν ὁ χειμών, δριμύτερος δ' ὁ παγετός· τό γε μὴν γῆρας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁπόσον ἐρεῖν πέφυκε κἀν τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ψυχρόν. ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὸ θανεῖν οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἕστηκε. δεῖ δή — φασὶ γὰρ τἀναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἰάματα —, χειμῶνι μὲν χλαίνης, παγετῷ δὲ σισύρας, γήρει δὲ ἀμφοτέρων. τούτων ἑνί γέ τῳ περιθαλπτέον ἐμέ.

<μδ'>

μγ'

Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ

Σὺ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φιλόσοφος εἶ καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὡς οἶμαι διδάσκαλος, σοί με δεῖ διδαχθῆναι, εἴ τίς ποτε κοινωνία καταφάσει

43. **3** ἧς – ἀδήριτον: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 3-4 || **9** οὐκ ὄναρ – ὕπαρ: Hom. Od. 19, 547; 20, 90 || **9** ὑπὲρ – ἕστηκε: Hom. Od. 20, 32 στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς || **10** τἀναντία – ἰάματα: cf. adn. ad . ep. 33, 3-4

10 τὰ 'ναντία P

43. To the Megalos Dioiketes

Most eminent great *Dioikete*. To what kinds of action does poverty induce me to resort or even more, urgent need – whose power is uncontested – to what kind of daring does she force me? I do not wish to become a burden, yet I become that which I do not wish. And that which I am loath to suffer, I am doing exactly that, I know not how. It sounds like a riddle, but what it says is the following. The winter is bitter but still bitterer is the frost. As with regard to old age, it is impossible to say how freezing it is to be old. Thus, death is no longer a nightmare but a reality that hangs over one's head. Therefore, one needs – as they say, opposites heal each other – a coat for winter, a fur cloak for the frost, and for old age, both. Let me be warmed by at least one of them.

44. To Nikephoros Metochites

You are a philosopher and also, as I believe, a teacher of philosophy – therefore I must be taught by you, whether there is anything in common between an answer in the affirmative and a

καὶ ἀποφάσει· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις, οἶδα δ' ὅτι καταφάσεως μὲν τὸ «ναί», ἀποφάσεως δὲ τὸ «οὔ». εἰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐναντία καὶ μὴ συμβαίνοντα, ἄρα καὶ καταφάσει ἀπόφασις καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ διαμέτρου ἀφεστηκότα. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτω, δεῖ δὴ ἢ τὰ καταφάσκοντα βεβαιοῦν ἢ τὰ ἀποφάσκοντα ἀκυροῦν καὶ μὴ τιθέναι τὴν μὲν ἀπόφασιν κατάφασιν, τὴν δ' αὖ κατάφασιν ἀπόφασιν, ἅπερ ἀριδήλως ἐναντία· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστήμης ταῦτα, πειθοῦς δὲ ζυγῷ ταλαντεύεται.

μδ'

<με'>
Ὀψικιάνῳ

Εἰ μὲν ἐφῷ θητεύειν ἐδεξιοῦντο φιλοφρονούμενοι, ὧν τοὺς φιλ-
p. 134 τάτους ἐπαίδευον, οὐ δῶρον ἀλλ' ἢ θητείας μισθὸς ἦν τὸ καταβαλλόμενον. εἰ δὲ νῦν, ὅτε μὴ θητεύων τελῶ, καταβάλλοιτό τίς τι, κρίνοιτ' ἂν δῶρον δικαίως· ἢ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο δῶρον, εἴπερ θητεύσω καὶ αὖθις, εὐχόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

44. **4-5** καταφάσεως – οὔ: cf. Matth. 5: 36 ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστιν || **5-7** εἰ δὲ ταῦτ'– ἀφεστηκότα: cf. Aristot. De interpr. 17a 32-33 πάσῃ καταφάσει ἐστὶν ἀπόφασις ἀντικειμένη καὶ πάσῃ ἀποφάσει κατάφασις

9 ἀπόφασιν (loco posteriore) in marg P

45. **6** καὶ] om LPdTheil

negation. I do not know if there is any, but I only know that for an affirmation there is a 'yes' and for a negation a 'no'. If these two are contrary and do not come to terms, then this is also true of an affirmation vis-à-vis a negation, for both are diametrically opposite. If this is so, one should either strengthen the affirmation or invalidate the negation, and not equate the negation with an affirmation and the affirmation again with a negation, both of which are clearly contrary. Such subtleties are not matters of science, they are measured by the art of persuasion.

45. To Opsikianos

If the parents of the children I have educated had bestowed upon me gifts and favours for my services, the payment would not be any more a gift but a salary for my services. But if someone would pay me now that I am not hired, this would rightly be considered a gift. And yet this would not be any more a gift, if I am once again hired and express my thanks even more than before.

με'

<μϛ'>
Ἀκροπολίτῃ

Ἄλλην τρέχων τις, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, ἄλλην ἐβάδισε. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἷον πεπόνθειμεν· πεπτωκότος πατρὸς καὶ φίλου – φίλου μὲν ἐμοί, σοὶ δὲ πατρός –, ὑπέστημεν τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς σχέσεις καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω διατηρεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως, ὥσπερ λήθαιον πεπωκότες, τὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως προδεδώκαμεν καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἐψεύσμεθα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνου τῷ χρεὼν λειτουργοῦντος, ὅτε καὶ χεροῖν ἀμφοῖν ἡμῶν λαβόμενος δεξιαῖν καὶ ἀλλήλαιν ἐναρμόσας καὶ ἐμπεδώσας εἶτα τὰ τελευταῖα συνταξάμενος ᾤχετο.

Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν – ἀνάσχου γάρ μου φιλοσόφως μικρὸν ἐξελέγξοντος –, καὶ αὐτοπροσώπους ἀφίξεις ἐστειλάμην καὶ γράμμασι πολλάκις ἐλιπάρησα καὶ πάντα κάλων ἐκίνησα, πρὸς μνήμην ἐκείνων ἐνάγων· σὺ δέ με ἀθέριζες, φαίη γ' ἂν Ὅμηρος, καὶ Δία τὸν Φίλιον ἐμυκτήριζες, φρεσὶ μὲν ἕτερα κεύθων, ἄλλα δὲ βάζων, ὅπερ ἀπηξίωσεν Ὅμηρος. τῶν τοί-

46. 2 Ἄλλην – ἐβάδισε: cf. Const. Acrop. ep. 69 (162, 1 Romano) Ἄλλην τρέχων ἄλλην ἐβάδισα || **14** πάντα – ἐκίνησα: cf. adn. ad ep. 23, 17-18 || **15** σὺ – ἀθέριζες: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 261 καὶ οὔ ποτέ μ' οἵ γ' ἀθέριζον || **16** καὶ Δία τὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || **16-17** φρεσὶ – βάζων: cf. Hom. Il. 9, 313 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ

17 ἀπηξίωσεν ex ἀπηγόρευσεν corr P

46. To [Konstantinos] Akropolites

Someone was running in one direction, says the proverb, and yet he walked in another. To an extent we have experienced exactly the same. When the father and friend departed – he was to me a friend and to you a father – we vowed to maintain the bond which he had created for us and we for him, and to sustain this bond for each other. Yet we have, I know not how nor for what reason, and as if we had drank the water of forgetfulness we betrayed our vow and proved our promises untrue, despite the fact that he, just before he died, took our right hands in his and joining them together he confirmed our vow and then taking leave of us he departed.

But now I have – bear with me for this small reproach in a philosophic way – sought you out in person, and I also asked you through letters many a time and did everything in my power to remind you of these pledges. But you "set me at naught,[19] as Homer would have said, and scoffed at Zeus the God of friendship, thereby hiding one thing in your mind and saying another, something that Homer disclaims as unworthy. Having given up

19. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 23.

νυν ἐλπίδων, αἷς ἐτρεφόμην, ἐκπεπτωκώς – ὥσπερ τις ναῦς, λιμένος μὲν ἐξοκείλασα, σπιλάσι δὲ καὶ ῥαχίαις ἐγκύρσασα ἔβαψε – καὶ κενὴν μακαρίαν ὀνομάσας ἐκείνας ἀτρέμας ἥμην ἐς δεῦρο σιγῶν καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἤκουον. παρατεταμένον οὖν τὸ δεινὸν ὡς μὴ λήθη πάμπαν κατεξορχήσαιτο, ἄκραν ἐγὼ βαλβίδα μηρίνθου σχάσας ἄνειμι χρηστῶν ἐς διεξόδους ἐπῶν. βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ σὲ στοιχῆσαι τοῖς ἴσοις· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἐμᾶς κραδίης, τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν πάτει καὶ κόσμει Σπάρταν ἣν ἔλαχες.

μς'

<μζ>
Πατρικιώτῃ

Ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπὼν πάρειμι καὶ παρὼν ἐγγύς εἰμι καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐγγυτέρω, οὐ πτεροῖς, κατὰ Δαίδαλον, ἀλλὰ νοῦ πτεροῖς.

---

20 κενὴν μακαρίαν: cf. Lucian. Herm. 71, 24 οἱ τὴν κενὴν μακαρίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττοντες; cf. Karathanasis 30-31 || **22-23** ἄκραν – ἐπῶν: Lycophr. Alex. 13 || **24-25** ἀπ' ἐμᾶς κραδίης: cf. Greg. Naz. Carm. de se ipso (PG 37: 1399) φεῦγ' ἀπ' ἐμῆς κραδίης || **25** τὴν κατὰ –πάτει: cf. Macar. 8, 24 (CPG II 217) τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα || **25-26** κόσμει – ἔλαχες: Synes. ep. 101 (171, 3 Garzya); Greg. Cypr. 2, 76 (CPG I 365); 3, 82 (CPG II 118); Karathanasis 47-48

---

24 ἀπ' ἐμᾶς ἀπ' ἐμᾶς P || **25** σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P

---

47. 2 ἀπὼν – παρών: cf. Theoph. Achr. ep. 36 (249, 8–9 Gautier) κἀγώ σοι τὰ νῦν ἀπών, πάρειμι διὰ τοῦ τῶν γραμμάτων σώματος

the hopes that sustained me – just like a ship that has missed its harbour and goes down shipwrecked driven upon rocky cliffs and reefs – and calling my hopes 'empty bliss', I kept myself quiet until now, listening in silence to the words of others. But in order that this unpleasant situation which has continued so long may not prevail completely over our memory, I took the end of the cord in hand and am now in search of useful words as a way out. I wish you could do the same. If you do not wish to comply, go your own way and adorn the Sparta which fate has given you.

47. To Patrikiotes

When I am absent I am there and being present I am also near and from afar I reach you not with the wings of Daidalos but with those of the mind. This may be a strange saying, but again from

καινὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος καί, λόγον ἄλλον, οὐχὶ καινός· ἐφικτὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ψυχῆς εὐθείας εἰλικρινεῖ διαθέσει.

p. 135

Πέρυσιν – οὔπω πάνυ πέρυσιν –, ᾔτησα μὲν ἐγὼ σῖτον, σὺ δὲ δοῦναι κατένευσας καὶ τὴν δόσιν | παρηγγύησας Πατζοπούλῳ. ὁ δ', ἀμελήσας καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μακαρίτης γενόμενος, ἀμφοτέρους ἠδίκησε, σὲ μὲν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, ἐμὲ δὲ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἣν αἰτῶ νῦν· στηριζόμενος γὰρ ἄρτῳ τὴν καρδίαν χρῴμην ἂν συντονωτέραις εὐχαῖς τοῦ χορηγήσαντος εἵνεκα. καὶ σύ, δικαστὴς ὢν ἀρρεπέστερος Αἰακοῦ, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἀποτίσαις ἐπηγγελμένην εὐεργεσίαν.

μζ'

<μη'>
Πεπαγωμένῳ

Εἰδώς ἐκ παιδός σε καὶ ἐς μειράκια παραγγείλαντα ἀστεῖον, ἡδύν, μέτριον, οἷς τ' ἄλλοις ἐν ἥβῃ χαίρουσιν ὄντες χαίροντα, καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀνδρῶν τελείων ἴζοντ' ἀριθμῷ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤμην ἔτι χαίρειν· φύσις γὰρ ὥσπερ αὕτη τοῖς πλείοσι κἂν ἥβῃ καὶ γήρει διατελεῖν, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας προήεσαν ἤθεσιν. ἀμέλει τοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀναλόγοις ἐχρώμην, ἀστείαις μὲν πρὸς ἀστεῖον, πρὸς ἡδὺν δὲ ἡδείαις καὶ μετρίαις πρὸς μέ-

47. 10 στηριζόμενος – καρδίαν: cf. Ps. 103:15 καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει

8 μετουπολὺ P

a certain point of view it is not so strange at all. Because this kind of wings are attainable by a sincere and well-intentioned soul.

Last year – scarcely a year ago – I requested grain, you consented to give me some, and then you entrusted the order of the offering to Patzopoulos. But he neglected the matter and shortly after he passed away, doing an injustice to both of us, for you to receive gratitude and for me a favour for which I am now asking. Because when I sustain my heart with bread, I could pray even more earnestly on behalf of my benefactor. And you being a more exacting judge than Aiakos, in no way would you not render a promised favour.

48. To Pepagomenos

I have known you ever since your childhood and also when you reached the age of youth, to be a polite, pleasant, and moderate young man, who also enjoyed the joys of youth, and now that you have reached full manhood, I thought that you might still enjoy the same things. Because the nature of most people both in youth and in old age is such that they retain unchanged the habits with which they grew up. Therefore, I formulated accordingly my letters to you at that time – polite letters to a polite man, pleasant letters to a pleasant man, and sober-minded let-

τριον. ἐλάνθανον δὲ ἄρα ἐξαπατώμενος, νὴ τὸν Φίλιον, καὶ φορτικὸς ἀνθ' ἡδέος οἰόμενος. ἀλλὰ νῦν χρησαίμην ἂν ἀρρενωπότερον πρὸς γενναῖον σοφόν θ' ὁμοῦ καὶ ῥητορικόν· εἰ δ' οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν εἴην ἂν εὐφραντέος, πεσὼν κεισεῦμαι, Θεόκριτός φησιν ὁ βουκολικός.

<μθ'>

μη' **Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ**

Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Πνεύματος εὐαγγέλιον αἰτεῖν ἐντέλλεται καὶ λαμβάνειν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ γράμματος νόμος τῷ ἔχοντι φησὶ δύο χιτῶνας μεταδοῦναι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι. καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, τῷ προτέρῳ μὲν πειθόμενος, τῷ δευτέρῳ δ' ἑπόμενος, προθέσει μὲν δίδως, χειρὶ δὲ κατέχεις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντικείμενον τῷ δευτέρῳ. ἐγὼ δέ, πῶς οἴει πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμων; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῆς χάριτος ἥλιος, οὗ τῆς θέρμης οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἀποκρυβήσεται, τὸ τῆς χλαίνης μὲν ἐπιπόλαιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐποψείδιον, κερκίσι θείαις ἐξύφανε, τό γε δ' ἐνδότερον καὶ ὑποκρυπτόμενον καὶ σαρκὶ προσεχέστερον σοὶ χορηγήσειν ἀπεχαρίσατο. ὡς ἂν συγκοι-

---

48. 9 νὴ τὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11

---

12 πεσὼν κεισεῦμαι: Theocr. Idyl 3, 53

---

49. 2-3 αἰτεῖν — λαμβάνειν: Matth. 7:7 αἰτεῖτε, καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν || 3-4 τῷ ἔχοντι – μὴ ἔχοντι: Luc. 3:11

---

8 οὗ τῆς θέρμης] in marg P

ters to a sober-minded man. But unaware that I was deceived in this respect, yea by Zeus the god of friendship, instead of becoming pleasant, I became burdensome. Now I would employ a more manly style appropriate to a noble, wise, and eloquent man. If even now I am not pleasing to you, I will throw myself down and lie where I have fallen, as the bucolic poet Theocritus says.

49. To Nikephoros Metochites

The Gospel of the Holy Spirit commands us to ask and receive, while the law of the Holy Writ enjoins that he who has two cloaks share with him who has none. You are persuaded by the first command and you follow also the second, being generous in your disposition, and yet you hold your hand back, something that contradicts the two. As for me, how forgiving do you think I am about such matters? But now the sun of charity, from whose warmth no one can hide, has woven with the divine weaver's shuttle the outer side of the cloak, which is the visible part, and to you has awarded the honour to provide the inner and hidden side which is close to the body. In order that you may share his

νωνήσῃς αὐτῷ τῆς χάριτος, ἀπόδος δὴ τοῦτο· καὶ ῥάψεις μὲν σύ, ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς ἀμφιέσομαι τὸ χλαινίδιον.

<ν>

μθ'

Ἀνδρὶ εὐγενεῖ Ἀκαρνᾶνι ῥήτορι καὶ σοφῷ

Εὐγενέστατε, λογιώτατε, ῥητορικώτατε καὶ σοφώτατε, γράμ-
p. 136 ματα τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τιμίας ψυχῆς καὶ διαθέσεως σῆς, | μὴ μέντοι γε καὶ χειρός, ὑπτίαις, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, χερσὶν εἰληφὼς πῶς δοκεῖς καὶ ἥσθην καὶ ἠνιάθην ἄμφω κατὰ ταὐτό; ἥσθην μὲν τῷ λαβεῖν, πάλαι τοῦτο διψῶν, ἠνιάθην δὲ τῷ διατεθεῖσθαί σε περιαλγῶς ἐπὶ ταῖν ἐμαῖν ἐπιδημίαιν καὶ ἀρρωστίαιν. ἀλλ' εὐαγγελίζομαι χαίρειν· παιδευθεὶς γὰρ μετρίως παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐς τὸ λῷον ἀναδεδράμηκα, καὶ νῦν εὖ ἕξεως ἔχων εἰμὶ καὶ καθαρᾶς ἀπολαύων ὑγείας.

Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί μή, γράμμασιν ἐπιστείλας, εἰωθόσιν ἐχρήσω, ἐρρητορευμένοις δηλαδὴ κεκομψευμένοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς, ἁπλοϊκοῖς δέ τισι καὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ τούτοις δι' ἀλλοτρίας χειρός; μή, δέομαι, τοῦ λοιποῦ, μή, λογίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τέχνην καὶ κάλλος κομμωτικοῖς, ὁποίοις ἡ σὴ παιδεία πρεσβεύεται, καὶ

---

49. 12-13 καὶ ῥάψεις – χλαινίδιον: cf. Hdt. 6, 1 τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης

---

50. 4 ὑπτίαις – χερσίν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Lib. ep. 1192, 1 (XI 277, 14 Foerster)

---

8 ἀγγελλίζομαι LPdTheil

favour, grant the inner side – you shall sew it indeed yourself, and I will wear it straight away.

50. To a noble Akarnanian, an orator and a man of wisdom

Most noble, erudite, eloquent, and wise friend, I received with open arms, as it is said, the letter of your holy and honoured soul and disposition – although it was not (written) by your own hand – and I have been delighted and at the same time grieved; delighted because of your letter for which I was long since longing, and grieved because you felt greatly pained upon hearing of my sickness and woes. But now I bring you the good news so that you can rejoice. After I was moderately chastened by the Almighty, I have recovered for the better and now feel well and am enjoying good health.

But why in the letters you sent me have you not employed as you were wont your refined and learned style of oratory, but instead a simple and pedestrian message written even by someone else's hand? No, no, I beseech you, do not repeat it again, but assume again your refined style which is embellished by beauty and art, as it is appropriate to your culture, and even more in the Queen of Cities, which is girded with the flowers and blos-

ταῦτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, τῇ τῶν λόγων ἄνθῃ καὶ βλάστῃ καὶ τὸ βασίλειον φιλοσοφίας κράτος ἀνεζωσμένῃ, τῇ περιθρυλλήτῳ φημὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρωτίστου φιλευσεβοῦς βασιλέως καὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ὑπερτάτῃ τὴν εὐσέβειαν μητροπόλει. τί πρὸς ταύτην Ἀθῆναι, αἱ πρὶν μὲν χρυσαῖ ταῖς παιδεύσεσιν, νυνὶ δὲ κενὴ μακαρία, καὶ ἀνθ' Ἑλληνίδος ἄκρας ἄκρα βάρβαρος ἀντιπεριστᾶσα;

Χρῶ τοίνυν καὶ φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ, ἵν εἰδοῖεν οἱ δεινοὶ κἀνταῦθα τῶν σοφιστῶν οἷός τις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑρμῆς ἐντέθραπται λόγιος καὶ παιδεία σεμνὴ πολιτεύεται. καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τιμῶν ἂν εἴης καὶ εὐγενίζων.

Ἐρρωμένος βιῴης, Θεῷ κεχαρισμένος, ψυχῆς ἐμῆς καὶ καρδίας εὐγενὲς ἀγλάϊσμα καὶ ὡράϊσμα.

<να'>

ν'

Πεπαγωμένῳ

Ἥκει σοι μὲν ὁ λόγος – ἐπήγγελτο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅπως οὐχ ἥξειν, σοφώτατε –, ἥκει δὲ πῶς δοκεῖς μεθ' ὅσης αἰδοῦς, φάναι δὲ μᾶλλον ὑποστολῆς, περιδεδιὼς τῇ ψήφῳ οἵα τις ἐξοίσεται; κἂν ἴσως μὲν τῆς δοκούσης, οὐκ ἐμοὶ τὴν χάριν εἴσεσθαι δεῖν,

21 κενὴ μακαρία: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20

25 σεαυτὸν] in marg P || 27 ἐῤῥῶμένος, βιῴης LPdTheil

51. 4 οἷά LPdTheil

soms of oratory and with the royal powers of philosophy – I mean the famous and superior in piety to the Old Rome, the City of Constantine, the greatest and foremost pious Emperor. What is Athens in comparison, the once golden city in learning, being now just 'empty happiness', transformed from a citadel of Hellenism to a citadel of barbarism?

Apply then your natural talent and your art of eloquence so that the illustrious sophists of this place may learn that we have also nourished a Logios Hermes who regulates his life according to the principles of serious learning. In this manner you would honour and dignify yourself and your native land.

May you live in good health under God's protection, noble ornament and adornment of my heart and soul.

51. To Pepagomenos

The discourse is sent to you as it was promised – how could it be done otherwise – with much embarrassment, my most wise friend, or better said with hesitation, as I am afraid of your judgment. If perhaps it is considered acceptable, the merit should not be ascribed to me, but rather to the Virgin, the Theotokos,

πολλῷ γε δὲ πάντως τῇ συναραμένῃ παρθένῳ καὶ θεομήτορι, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ ἐξενήνεκται, εἰ δὲ θατέρας, εἴην ἂν νεμεσητέος ὁ προενεγκὼν ἔγωγε, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀποψηφισθεὶς ἐπανηκέτω μεθ᾽ ἥττης παρὰ πατέρα τὸν πεπομφότα.

<νβ'>

p. 137 να'

Γαλησιώτῃ |

Εἰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἦλθες, σοφώτατε, οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ψῆφον αὐτοῖς δικαίαν ἔχεις ἐξενεγκών· οὐ γὰρ μήποτε ψηφίσαιο ψῆφον εὐνοίᾳ δεδεκασμένην, ὅτι μηδ᾽ Αἰακὸς ἢ Μίνως ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς. εἰ δ᾽ ἴσως μήπω, δεῖ δὴ διελθεῖν· κἂν μὲν εὖ ἔχοιεν, πεμφθέντων μετὰ τῆς ψήφου, ἣν ὡς Ῥῆνος ἀδέκαστος δικαστὴς τῶν τε γνησίων καὶ νόθων γεννημάτων τῶν λόγων ἐξοίσεις. εἰ δ᾽ οὐκ εὖ, τὸ ὑποσκάζον ἐπανορθώσας πέμψον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀκράτου φιλίας τεκμήριον.

---

8 ἀποψηφισθεὶς – πεπομφότα: cf. Synes. ep. 1 (4, 9 Garzya) ἀποψηφισθεὶς δὲ ἐπανίτω παρὰ τὸν πέμψαντα

---

7 ἐξενήνεγκται P

---

52. 2-4 ψῆφον – δεδεκασμένην: cf. adn. ad ep. 37, 47-48 || **4-5** Αἰακὸς – Ῥαδάμανθυς: cf. Salzmann 10-11 || **6-7** ὡς Ῥῆνος – νόθων γεννημάτων: cf. adn. ad ep. 25, 5-6

4-5 ἢ μίνως ἢ ῥαδά] in marg P || **5** δὴ] supra scr P

who helped me and in whose honour the Oration was composed. If the verdict is different, the blame should be placed on me, the writer, and the rejected piece should be returned after its defeat to the creator who sent it out.

52. To Galesiotes

If you went through my work, my most wise friend, then you have already formed a fair opinion about it; since you would not pronounce a partial judgment, just like Aiakos, Minos, and Rhadamanthys. In case you have not read it yet, you should do so, and if it is acceptable send it back together with you opinion, like the incorruptible judge Rhenos, deliberating over genuine and false products of learning. But if it is not in good order, correct the faulty part and return it. For this would be a proof of true friendship.

<νγ>

νβ'

Τῷ κραταιῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ βασιλεῖ

Τολμηρῶς ἀναφέρω ὡς δοῦλος τῷ θεοστεφεῖ κράτει σου, φιλευσεβέστατε καὶ φιλοχριστότατε, κραταιὲ καὶ ἅγιε δέσποτά μου. μυρίοις πράγμασι περιστοιχιζομένης τῆς ἀηττήτου σῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας, ὡς μήποτ' ἂν προσθήκη τις εἴην καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ μὴ καιροὺς εἰδὼς διακρίνειν καὶ προσβολὰς τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων φροντίδων, ἑτέραν ἐτραπόμην τῇ τοῦ βίου στενώσει. ἀμέλει τοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐχρησάμην, δοκῶν ἐκεῖθεν εὑρηκέναι παράκλησιν. ἀλλὰ λύκος ἦν ἄντικρυς εἰς ἀέρα χαίνων ἢ μὴν ἄρκος οἰκείους περιλιχμάζουσα πόδας, τρυφὴν τρυφῶσα καινὴν καὶ ἀδάπανον· τὸ γάρ τοι τοῦ πολύποδος, ἑὸν πόδα τένδοντος, οὔτ' οὐχὶ δάκνον οὔτ' οὐκ ἐπίπονον.

Πάντες οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος, παρεώρων καὶ ἀπετρέποντο. ἡττημένος οὖν ἀνάγκης, δίκην κυνὸς στρεφομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον, ἐπανακάμπτω πάλιν ὡς ποταμὸς ἀνάρ-

53. **9-10** λύκος – χαίνων: Diogen. 6, 20 (CPG I 273); Greg. Cypr. 4, 15 (CPG II 121); Apostol. 10, 85 (CPG II 510) λύκος ἔχανε; Karathanasis 112 || **10** ἄρκος – πόδας: cf. Scholia in Hesiodum (522, 4 Gaisford) Χειμῶνος γὰρ πολλοῦ γεγονότος τὸ θηρίον ἡ ἄρκτος ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς φωλεῷ καθημένη τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας περιλιχμάζουσα διαζῇ, τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι τροφῆς || **12** ἑὸν πόδα τένδοντος: cf. Hesiod. Op. 524 ὅτ' ἀνόστεος ὃν πόδα τένδει || **14-15** κυνὸς – ἔμετον: cf. Prov. 26:11 ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον; Apostol. 10, 30 (CPG II 492); Karathanasis 110 || **15-16** ὡς ποταμὸς ἀνάρρους: cf. Mant. Prov. 1, 15 (CPG II 746) ἀνὰ ῥοῦν χωρεῖν

10 πόδας] in marg P || **13-14** ἀποτρέποντο LPdTheil

53. To the mighty and holy Emperor

In a daring act your servant reports to your crowned by God divine majesty, my most pious and beloved of Christ, mighty and holy Lord. At a time when your holy and undefeated kingdom is surrounded by innumerable cares and lest I become an additional burden to you or appear ignorant of the situation and of the accumulation of many and great problems, I have sought another recourse driven by my poverty. I turned to the nobles, expecting to receive some help from them. But I came out like a wolf gaping in the air or rather like a bear licking its own paws, indulging itself in a new and inexpensive delight. Yet to gnaw at one's own tentacles like an octopus hurts and is painful.

As if by common agreement all of them turned away, avoiding me. Being compelled by my needs, I come back like a dog that returns to its own vomit or like a river that flaws back to its

ρους παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν πηγὴν καὶ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς προστρέχω μεγαλοδωρεαῖς καί, βίου κάμνων στενώσει, δέομαι διαίτης χρηστῆς. ἀλλὰ σύ, θειότατε βασιλεῦ, φιλόσοφος ὢν ἰατρός, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως μὴ σπλαγχνισθεὶς τὰ πρὸς ἰατρείαν ἐπιτήδεια συγκεράσεις ἀλεξιφάρμακα.

<νδ'>

νγ'

Τῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ

Τῷ περιθρυλλήτῳ δὲ ἄρα μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ, σωφροσύνης εἵνεκα καὶ φρονήσεως ἀνδρίας τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης, τίς ποτ' ἂν ἕτερος ἁρμόσειε στέφανος ἢ μὴν ὁ ἐκ λογικῶν ἐγκωμίων; οἱ γὰρ ἐξ ἀραβικῶν μύρων καὶ ἰνδικῶν ἀνθέων, ἐπειδήπερ γῆθεν προέρχονται, καὶ πρὸς γῆν χωροῦσι καὶ ῥέουσιν· οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀρετῶν διαιωνίζοντες καὶ ἀμάραντοι καί, τὴν γένεσιν ἄνωθεν ἔχοντες, ἀμέλει καὶ ὅθεν προῆλθον ἀναλύουσι καὶ ἀνέρχονται, ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ Μουσῶν καὶ λόγων δεόμενοι. σοφὸς γάρ τις φησί, τὰ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων, ἂν μὴ λόγων τύχῃ κηρύκων, ἀπορρεῖ τῆς μνήμης καὶ λήθην ἀμπίσχεται, | παρὰ μόνον τὸν
p. 138
καιρὸν ἀνθήσαντα τὸν τοῦ πράττεσθαι, ἅττα δὲ φήμη λάβῃ σὺν λόγῳ, τελοῦσιν ἄφθιτα διαμένοντα· τὰ δ' αὖ πόνοις κα-

54. **10-12** τὰ μεγάλα – πράττεσθαι: Syn. ep. 99 (167, 6-9 Garzya) τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων, ἂν μὴ τύχῃ λόγων κηρύκων, ἀπορρεῖ τῆς μνήμης καὶ λήθην ἀμπίσχεται, παρ' αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τοῦ πράττεσθαι καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἀνθήσαντα

13-14 κατωρθώμενα LPdTheil

own source, appealing to your imperial generosity for your kind support, being constrained by my needs.

You shall certainly take pity on me, my most divine Emperor, and as the philosopher physician that you are you shall prepare the necessary remedy for my cure.

54. To the Grand Domestikos Kantakouzenos

To the famous Grand Domestikos, to whom on account of his prudence, magnanimity and justice, what other crown would suit him better than an encomium of words of praise? The wreaths which are made of Arabian perfume and Indian flowers wither quickly and disappear into the earth from which they emerge. On the other hand, the crowns of virtue remain eternal and unfading since they descend from above and when they dissolve they ascend from whence they originated, and for this reason they are in need of the Muses and Rhetoric.

For great deeds, as a wise man says, fall into forgetfulness and are covered by oblivion if they do not chance to be heralded in words, and blossom only at the time of their accomplishment, but when their story is recorded in words then the deeds remain immortal for eternity. The deeds, however, that have been accomplished with hard work are preserved through the remedy

τωρθωμένα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων συντηρεῖται φαρμάκοις, ἀνεπίληστα διαβαίνοντα· οὗτοι γάρ, οὗτοι καὶ πτερόεντες ὄντως φύσει καὶ πανταχῇ γῆς διάττοντες, κλεΐζοντες μὲν τοὺς κατωρθωκότας, τοὺς δ' αὖ ζηλοῦντας ἐπαίροντες καὶ ἐξευγενίζοντες.

Ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἐγὼ τῷμῷ τρισαριστεῖ καὶ τρισολυμπιονίκῃ προσαρμόττω τὸν στέφανον, Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ παρεγγυῶντι πειθόμενος, ἀρχομένου ἔργου χρῆναι θεῖναι πρόσωπον τηλαυγές. τρέφομαι δ' ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς κἀπὶ λαμπρῶν κιόνων χρυσῶν λαμπροτέρους θαλάμους ἀνεγερεῖν, ἐπειδὰν δομέστικος μὲν ὁ μέγας – εἰρήσθω δὲ σὺν Θεῷ –, διαβὰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ πατῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν, γυμνὴν ἀνατείνων τὴν σπάθην, Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν ἔργον ταύτης τιθείη, τοὺς δ' αὖ τρέπων δουλαγωγοίη, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀφορμὰς ἐγκωμίων καὶ λόγων ὑποθέσεις παρέχοι, τῷ Πέρσῃ Ξέρξῃ στρατευόμενος τἀναντία, ἀπειλῶν δούλην τὴν Περσίδα παραστήσειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, τὴν δ' αὖ μεγάλην Ἀσίαν τῆς μικρᾶς Εὐρώπης θεράπαιναν. ὁπότε δὴ καὶ συγγραφέως τῶν ἔργων Ὁμήρου δεήσει δευτέρου, οὐκ Ἀχιλλέως οὐδ' Ἕκτορος ἢ μὴν Αἴαντός τε καὶ Διομήδους οὔτ' οὖν λοιπῶν ἀριστέων ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπιόντος τε καὶ συγγράφοντος, ὅτι μὴ μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἐκστρατείας καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ τρόπαια, τῇ τε νῦν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐσομέναις γενεαῖς ὑπομνήματα.

---

15 οὗτοι – πτερόεντες: cf. Const. Acrop. ep. 52 (147, 6-7 R. Romano) ὡς γάρ φησιν ἡ ῥαψῳδία, πτερόεντες οἱ λόγοι || **20-21** ἀρχομένου – τηλαυγές: cf. adn. ad ep. 37, 44-45

---

18 τῷ 'μῷ P || **27-28** τὰ 'ναντία P || **30** θεράπαινειν LPdTheil

of words and thereby are never to be forgotten. For words by their very nature are provided with wings and fly everywhere across the earth, praising the ones who accomplish great deeds, encouraging others to do the same and excel.

From such flowers I weave my wreath which I offer to my thrice-victorious and Olympic winner, persuaded by Pindar who exhorts us that "over our work's beginning we needs must set a front that shines after". So I cherish good hopes that I shall erect upon bright golden columns a more magnificent monument as soon as the great *domestikos* – may God grant the request – crosses over the Hellespont and sets foot in Asia and with drawn sword attacks the Persians and slaughters others, putting others to flight and taking them slaves, giving me the opportunity for praise and material for composing his encomia, for in his campaign he pursues the opposite goal of Xerxes and threatens to make Persia a slave to our Emperors and the great Asia a servant to small Europe. Then a second Homer will be needed as an author for his accomplishments, who will not celebrate in song the heroic deeds of Achilles or of Hector or of Aias or even Diomedes and other celebrated warriors, but the expeditions, the conduct of operations, and victories of the Grand Domestikos, so that they will be a memorial for us and future generations.

νδ'

‹νε›
Τῷ αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ δομεστίκῳ

Ὁ περιφανὴς μὲν τὴν ἀξίαν μέγας δομέστικος, περιφανέστε-
ρος δὲ τὴν εὐγένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τήν γε μὴν κορωνίδα τῶν
ἀρετῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν λοιπῶν σειρὰν ἁπασῶν καὶ λίαν
περιφανέστατος, ἀπορῶ ποῖ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμίων,
πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων περ ὄντων, ἔμοιγε κείσεται· διὰ ποίαν
δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγκωμιασθεὶς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐκείνης γένοιτ'
ἂν ἐγκωμιαστής, ὅπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπολαμβάνων, ἀντιδιδοὺς
πολλαπλάσιον καὶ μᾶλλον εὐγενίζων ἤπερ εὐγενιζόμενος; ποῖ
δέ μοι φρενός, Πίνδαρός φησιν ὁ σοφός, ἐγγεγράψεται, τῇ
p. 139 μεγαλοφυΐα πάντα νικῶν; | ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν λογιζόμενος ἰλιγγιῶ
μοι τὸν νοῦν καὶ σιωπᾶν ἂν ᾑρούμην, ποιητὴς δέ φησιν, ἔστι
μὲν οὗ λόγος τιμιώτερον σιγῆς, ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγὴ κρεῖττον
λόγου. τοιγαροῦν ἀνθαιροῦμαι λέγειν, ὡς μὴ τῷ μακρῷ χρό-
νῳ συγκρυβῇ τὰ καλὰ μηδὲ βυθῷ λήθης παραρρυῇ. γνωμα-
τεύει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Σοφοκλῆς οὑτωσί πως· ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς
κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται,
ταὐτόν, οἶμαι, τῷ Κρόνῳ ποιῶν, ὅς, ἐπειδάν οἱ τέκοι Ῥέα, ὁ
δ' εὐθὺς τὸ τεχθὲν κατεβρόχθιζεν. οἷς δ' ἂν τελουμένοις λόγος

55. **9-10** ποῖ δε μοι – ἐγγεγράψεται: cf. Pind. Olymp. 10, 2 πόθι φρενὸς ἐμᾶς γέγραπται || **13-14** ἔστι – λόγου: cf. adn. ad ep. 32, 5-6 || **14-15** ὡς μὴ – παραρρυῇ: cf. Greg. Naz. Or. 44, 1 (PG 36: 608) ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά, μηδὲ παραρρυῇ λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενα || **17** Soph. Aj. 646 sq. || **18** ταὐτὸν – ποιῶν: cf. Hesiod. Theog. 459

6 παρόντων (pro περ ὄντων) LPdTheil || **16** καὶ] om LPdTheil

55. To the same Grand Domestikos

The distinguished in dignity Grand Domestikos, more distinguished in the nobility of his soul, but most distinguished because he embodies the summit of virtues from which all virtues proceed, causes me perplexity me in perplexity, because I do not know how to intone the praise of his great and numerous accomplishments. For which of his virtue could he be glorified and not become himself its panegyrist, because the praise he receives he gives it back in the manifold, lending nobility rather than receiving. Where in my heart, says the wise Pindar, has been written, the one who is victorious over all by his lofty genius? Thinking about it I become dizzy and I would rather prefer to keep silent; yet a poet says there are instances where speech is more worthy than silence, and there are others again where silence is better. I prefer, however, to speak so that good deeds shall not be hidden in the course of time nor be swept into the depths of oblivion. Sophocles also confirms it thus: "Time in its slow, illimitable course brings all to light and buries all again".[20] In this respect, time does nothing else but what Kronos did, who as soon as Rhea gave birth to his child he devoured it. But if human accomplishments are put into words, the actions are pre-

20. Sophocles, *Ajax*, tr. F. Storr 57.

ἐφεστὼς ᾖ, σχεδὸν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος συντηρῶν ἔσται τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα παραδιδοὺς ἀκοαῖς ἐς ψυχὰς διαπορθμεύσει τὴν μίμησιν· αἱ δέ, πλαξὶ λογικαῖς ἐγχαράξασαι, μνήμαις ἀνεξαλείπτοις αὐτὰ παραπέμψουσι. καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν Ὅμηρος μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἐκ προσώπου δήπουθεν ἄλλου λέγων τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται, ταῖς δ' ἀληθείαις περιαυτολογῶν.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ πείθει πόθος ἐμὲ πρὸς λόγον· λόγος δ', ὄκνον ἐκτιναττόμενος, τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρει θαρρεῖν. ὅ γε μὴν περιφανὴς μέγας δομέστικος, πρὸς οἷς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐνευθηνεῖται καλοῖς πληρέστατος ὤν, εἴ τις ἄλλος, καὶ τῆς κεφαλαιώδους τῶν ἀρετῶν διακρίσεως, ἀποδέξεται μέν — οἶδ' ὅτι — τὸν πόθον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον, κἂν βραχὺς ᾖ, διὰ τὸν πόθον προσήσεται, καθαπερεὶ Χριστὸς τὰ δύο λεπτὰ τῆς χήρας προσήκατο, μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν λεπτῶν προσεσχηκὼς εὐτελές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς προσενεγκάσης προθέσεως. ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀξίαν ἀντεσταθμήσατο τῇ προθέσει.

Δεῖ δὴ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμῖν ἀμφοῖν ἀποδιδόναι καί γε ἀντιλαμβάνειν ἀνάλογα. καὶ σὲ μέν, διαβάντα τὴν περαίαν καὶ καλῶς τὸν τῆς Ἕλλης πόντον ἐναντίως Ξέρξῃ διαπεραιωθέντα, πατῆσαι μὲν καὶ λεηλατῆσαι χώρους ἅπαντας Περσικούς, αὐτοὺς δὲ Πέρσας καὶ πέρα περᾶσαι Γαδείρων, φόβῳ δὴ καὶ φυγῇ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεράτων κατατολμῶντας, γυναῖκας

24-25 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν – ὀλεῖται: Hom. Il. 7, 91 || **32-33** τὰ δύο – χήρας: cf. Marc. 12: 42; Luc. 21: 2 || **40** πέρα – Γαδείρων: cf. Pind. Nem. Ode 4, 68; Greg. Naz. ep. 173 (II 62, 4 Gallay) τὸ δὲ πρόσθε Γαδείρων μὴ περατὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις, Πινδάρῳ φιλοσοφοῦντι πιστεύομεν; Karathanasis 54

20 ὁπῶς (pro ὁ πᾶς) LPdTheil || **31** οὐχήκιστα P || **32** καθάπερ εἰ P

served almost to eternity and moreover they are delivered to the ears of people and from there they are conducted to their souls in order to be imitated. Being thus engraved on the tablets of the mind, they are committed to lasting memory. Even Homer confirms this in one of his rhapsodies, when he puts the words in one of his heroes saying "my glory shall never die",[21] although in reality he sings his own praise.

On account of all this my desire prompts me to take up writing and the task dispels my hesitation and assures me of my ability. But the distinguished Grand Domestikos, who beside all his other merits excels above all in the attainment of the summit of virtues, shall accept my wish – I am sure about it – and no less my discourse, even if it is a short one, and he shall approve its intention, like Christ who accepted the two follies of the widow, without taking offence at their worthlessness, appreciating much more her displayed intention. In a similar way, the Grand Domestikos measures his benevolence, by taking into account the intention of the act.

We must both therefore offer and receive accordingly. For your part, you shall now pass over to the other side, and having crossed the Hellespont successfully in the opposite direction of Xerxes, to conquer and plunder all the Persian lands, driving out these same Persians beyond Gadeira, inducing them out of fear to flee to remote places, taking their wives and children together

21. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 309.

δὲ καὶ μειράκια σατράπαις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ζυγῷ δουλείας ὑποζευγνύντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὄλβους τε καὶ θησαυροὺς Μυσῶν λείαν πεποιημένον, τὴν δ᾽ αὖ μεγάλην ὅλην Ἀσίαν τοῖς p. 140 βασι|λικοῖς πήχεσιν ὅσα δούλην τῶν τριχῶν ἀνεσπασμένην καὶ ἀνθελκομένην Εὐρώπῃ δουλεύσουσαν, ἐχθροὺς δ᾽ ἀσπόνδους Εὐρωπαίους καὶ Λίβυας ὁμοῦ σατραπάρχαις, φαλαγγάρχας, ταγματάρχας, λοχαγούς τε καὶ λόχους, στρατηγούς, ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ δορυφόρους, τοῖς αὐτοκρατορικοῖς ὡραίοις ποσὶ τοὺς σιδηροῦς τραχήλους συγκάμπτοντας καὶ χοῦν τὸν ὑποπόδιον λείχοντας, σποδὸν τρυφῶντας ὡς ἄρτον καὶ πόμα δάκρυα πίνοντας. λόγοι δὲ ῥητόρων καὶ συγγραφέων, Ἡρακλείους καὶ Διονυσείους ἄθλους τε καὶ στήλας παρέντες, τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δομεστίκου συγγράφοιεν κατορθώματα. κἀγὼ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ συγγράφοιμ᾽ ἄν, ἅτταπερ ἐκείνοις παρεῖται, ἢ πεπονθόσι λήθην ἢ λόγων κόρον ὡς ἀκοαῖς πολέμιον φεύγουσι. τίνα ταῦτα; πτωχοτροφεῖα, χορηγίαι δεομένοις, προστασίαι χηρῶν, ὀρφανῶν ὑπερασπισμοί, πενομένων προμήθειαι, καταπονουμένων ἀντιλήψεις, τά τ᾽ ἄλλα, ὅσ᾽ ἄττα τῶν τοιούτων.

43-44 Μυσῶν λείαν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Apostol. 11, 83 (CPG II 538); Macar. 6, 5 (CPG II 189); Karathanasis 43 || **49-50** ὡραίοις ποσί: cf. Si. 26: 18 πόδες ὡραῖοι || **50** σιδηροῦς τραχήλους: cf. Is. 48: 4 νεῦρον σιδηροῦν ὁ τράχηλός σου || **50-51** καὶ χοῦν – λείχοντας: cf. Is. 49: 23 καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῶν ποδῶν σου λείξουσιν; Man. Phil. Carmina 112 (I, 305, 91 Miller) Νυνὶ δὲ βλέψαις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς λείχοντας χοῦν, ὡς λόγος || **51-52** σποδὸν – πίνοντας: cf. Ps. 101:10 ὅτι σποδὸν ὡσεὶ ἄρτον ἔφαγον καὶ τὸ πόμα μου μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ ἐκίρνων

---

59 δσάττα P

with their satraps themselves under the yoke of slavery for our Emperors, seizing their wealth and treasures as booty. The whole of great Asia will be snatched by the hand of the Emperor and dragged by the hair to serve as a slave of Europe and then the unreconciled enemies will follow next, Europeans and Libyans together with their satraps and commanders of phalanxes, leaders of divisions, captains and armed bands, generals, shield-bearers and spearmen, all will bow their iron necks before the beautiful imperial feet, lick the dust under his feet, eating ashes for bread and mingling tears with drink.

Authors and orators must set aside the exploits and the monuments of Heracles and of Dionysus in their discourses and write about the accomplishments of the Grand Domestikos. I will myself undertake to write what those authors left out, either because they forgot or because they considered the excess of the speeches as adverse to the ears. What do I have in mind? Poor-houses, support of the needy, assistance to widows, protection of orphans, relief of the poor, support of the oppressed and all those kinds of similar charities.

Τίτον μὲν οὖν, ὀλβιόδωρον καὶ βεβοημένον ἐπ' εὐεργεσίαις, τοσοῦτον ἐφήμισαν Ἕλληνες, ὥστε καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι κρατεῖν ἀνάγραπτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, συμβὰν ἡμέρας τινος οὐχ εὐεργετῆσαι, φάσκειν κατ' ἐκείνην μηδὲ βασιλεῦσαι, ὅρον τινὰ καὶ σταθμὸν οἱονεὶ βασιλείας τοῦτον ὁριζόμενον τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. τὰ σὰ δὲ τῶν χρηστῶν τίς ἢ νοῦς ἐξειπεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν ἢ κόνδυλοι γράψαι, καὶ νοῦν νικῶντα καὶ λόγων ἰσχὺν ὑπερβαίνοντα; ἐσαεὶ γὰρ τρόπαια τροπαίοις καὶ νίκας ἐπὶ νίκαις προστίθης. αἵ γε μὴν εὐεργεσίαι – ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις ἔστιν ἐρεῖν ὅσῳ μείζους τῶν προτέρων αἱ δεύτεραι. τίνες ταῦτα συγγράψαιντ' ἂν συγγραφεῖς; Ὁμήρων ἔδει καὶ Πινδάρων, Ἡροδότων τε καὶ Θουκυδιδῶν, πρὸς δὲ Πλουτάρχων, Κατώνων, Σκηπιώνων καὶ τῶν ὅσοι τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους κόμματος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ νοῦ στρέφω τὸν ἄξονα καὶ λύω τῆς ἡνιοχείας τὸ ἅρμα, τὰ θ' ἱστία τῷ λόγῳ χαλάσας πρὸς τὸν λιμένα καταίρω τῆς σιωπῆς, εὐχαῖς ἐπισφραγίζων τὸν ὅρμον.

60-63 Τίτον – βασιλεῦσαι: cf. Mich. Glyc. Annales, 445,4 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτον εἰπεῖν «σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσαμεν, ἐπειδή τινα οὐκ εὐεργετήσαμεν» || **74-75** τὰ θ' ἱστία – σιωπῆς: cf. Basil. Seleuc. Or. XXXIX (PG 85, 449) Οὐκοῦν τὰ ἱστία τοῦ λόγου χαλάσας, εἰς τὸν ἀσφαλῆ τῆς σιωπῆς λιμένα ὁρμήσω

---

68 προστίθης] in marg P

The Greeks have glorified for his generosity and benevolence Titus, the famous Emperor, to the extent that there is a story written about him: if he did not perform a good deed on a certain day, he believed that he had not ruled on that day, in this way establishing charity as a condition and as a mark of kingship. But as to your acts of benevolence, which intellect could recount and what kind of writing instruments could transcribe them so as to surpass the mind and the power of speech? For you have long succeeded in adding trophies upon trophies and victories upon victories. As with regard to the charities one can hardly describe the greatness of the recent ones in relation to the former. Which authors could write about them? Authors like Homer and Pindar are needed, as also Herodotus, Thucydides and Plutarch, Cato, Scipio and whoever else belongs to their circle.

As for myself I turn now the axle of my mind to the terminus and having released the wheel-horses from the chariot and pulled down the sails of speech, I sail into the harbor of silence, blessing with my prayers my safe haven.

<νϛ>

νε΄

Λουκίτῃ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἐμὲ δ' εἴ τις ἂν ἔροιτο, τίνα δὴ ταύτην ἡδονὴν ἥδομαι τίς θ' ἣν χαίρω χαρὰν καὶ ὅστις ὃν ἑορτάζω ἑόρτιον τίς τέ μοι τούτων ὁ πρόξενος, οὐδέν' ἕτερον ἂν πύθοιτο, ὅτι μὴ τὸν λαμπρὸν p. 141 πρω|τοβεστιάριον σὲ καὶ τὰ σὰ χρυσᾶ γράμματα, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφερῆ τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα, ἅττ' ἐξ Ἑσπερίδων Ἡρακλῆς ἆθλον ἤνεγκεν Εὐρυσθεῖ. αἵ γε μὴν ἀποστολαὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἧττους θώρακος ἐκείνου δαιδαλέου, ὃν Ἀγαμέμνων περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε, τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι. πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὕνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ ἐς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἔμμελον· τοὔνεκά οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ. τοῦ δὴ δώδεκα οἶμοι ἔσαν χρυσοῖο· οἷς ἡμῖν χρυσίνους ἰσαρίθμους δῶρον ἀπέσταλκας. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τὴν τῶν σεπτῶν ἀποστόλων σοι δωδεκάδα μνηστεύομεν, ὧν ἡ ξυνωρὶς μὲν τῶν κορυφαίων, Πέτρος, ἡ στερρὰ πέτρα, ἐφ' ᾗ Χριστός, ἡ τῆς ζωῆς πέτρα, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπῳκοδόμηκε, καὶ Παῦλος, ἡ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος παῦλα, πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμά σοι περιέποιεν· ἡ δεκὰς δὲ τῶν μετ' αὐτούς τε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς

56. 6-7 χρυσᾶ μῆλα – Εὐρυσθεῖ: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Apostol. 11, 57 (CPG II 528) χρυσᾶ μῆλα, ἃ Ἡρακλῆς ἤγαγεν ἐξ Ἑσπερίδων || **8-12** περὶ στήθεσσιν – βασιλῆϊ: Hom. Il. 11, 19-23 || **12** τοῦ δὴ – χρυσοῖο: Hom. Il. 11, 25 || **15-16** Πέτρος – ἐπῳκοδόμηκε: cf. Matth. 16: 18 καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν || **16-17** Παῦλος – παῦλα: cf. Ioannes Beccus, De libris suis (PG 141: 1021) Γρηγόριος, ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀνάπαυλα

7 κατουδὲν P || **11** τοῦ 'νεκα P

56. To Loukites, the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

Should someone ask me which pleasure I enjoy most and which joy I rejoice or which celebration I celebrate and who might be the source of all this, he would hear nothing else but that I praise you, the illustrious Protovestiarios and your golden letters, to which even the golden apples that Heracles brought as trophy from the Hesperides to Eurysthenes cannot be compared. As for the gifts dispatched to me, they were in no way inferior to that adorned breastplate, with which Agamemnon "next he did on about his chest [the corselet] that on a time Cinyras had given him for a guest-gift. For he heard afar in Cyprus the great rumour that the Achaeans were about to sail forth to Troy in their ships, wherefore he gave him the breastplate to do pleasure to the king".[22]

The twelve bands of the armour were certainly made of gold, the same number of gold pieces you have sent to me as a gift. In return for which I entrust you to the twelve Holy Apostles, to the top two, Peter, the firm stone, upon which Christ, the stone of life, founded His Church, and Paul, the resting place of the Holy Spirit, that they may protect your body and soul. The re-

22. *Ibid.*, I, 481.

ἀναλογοῖεν ἂν ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος πενταδικαῖς αἰσθήσεσι καὶ δυνάμεσι, δέκα μουσικαῖς νήταις ἀναλογοῦσα· ἃς ψαλάττων ὡς πλῆκτρον ὁ μουσικώτατος τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ὀρφεὺς ψαλτήριόν σε δεκάχορδον πρὸς ὑμνῳδίας θεϊκὰς πνευματικῶς ἀναβάλλεται.

Ἔστι μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον τόνδε σεπτέος ὁ δώδεκα· ἔστι δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσάριθμον χορὸν τῶν ἐξ Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατριάρχου πατριαρχῶν. ναί γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θύραθεν φιλοσόφους τιμητέος, ὡς αἱ παρ᾽ ἐκείνων συνιστῶσιν αἰτιολογίαι τε καὶ φυσιολογίαι, περιεκτικὸς ὢν τοῦ ἓξ δίς – ὃς ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντιθεμένων μερῶν, ἡμίσεος δηλαδή, τρίτου τε καὶ ἕκτου, ἀπαρτίζεται καὶ ὑφέστηκεν ἔσω τῆς δεκάδος, ἐν μονάσι πρῶτος τέλειος ὤν –, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀκτὼ θεωρούμενος λόγον ἡμιόλιον ἔχων· ἐῶ γὰρ φάναι καὶ τὴν περιφορὰν τῶν τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τρὶς τεττάρων ζῳδίων, οἷς ἀναλόγως καὶ ἡ τῶν μηνῶν δωδεκὰς ἄρτιον περικυκλουμένη τὸν χρόνον ἀποκαθίστησιν, ἢ μὴν καὶ λόγους ἴσως ἄλλους, πρὸς οὓς νοῦς ἐμβατεύει φιλόσοφος, οὓς δῆτα καὶ τιμητέον σιγῇ.

Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀριθμοῦ τοσούτων ἅλις. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐσταλμένων ἀμφιέσομαι μὲν

δέρματα λαχνήεντα τά τε φρίκην ἀλεείνει,
θώρακα χειμερίων νιφάδων ἀλεωρῆς τ᾽ ἄλκαρ,
ὡς μὴ ἶς Βορέαο διὰ χρωτὸς ἄῃσιν,

22 ψαλτήριον – δεκάχορδον: cf. Ps. 32: 2 ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ || **39** δέρματα λαχνήεντα: cf. Hom. Il. 9, 548

41 post Βορέαο excidit fort vox δριμύ: cf. ep. 70, 46

maining ten Apostles, who come after the top two, would correspond to the five sense organs and powers of body and soul and they may even be likened to the ten musical chords, which the musically gifted Orpheus of the Church strikes up as a plectrum and employs you like a ten-chord harp in singing spiritually his divine hymns.

The number twelve is to be reverenced then for this reason, but not least and for the equal number of the choir of patriarchs descending from the patriarch Jacob. But this number is honoured also by the secular philosophers, who argue about it on causal and physiological grounds, because it comprises two times six, being made up from its own parts, that is half, one third, and one sixth, and is contained within the first decade and is considered the first perfect single number. It also represents the one and a half of eight. I have not mentioned the three times of the four signs of the zodiac sphere, which proportionately surrounds the twelve months and completes the cycle of the year. But perhaps I have not mentioned other views with which philosophers deal and which should be honoured with silence.

But enough regarding numbers. With the dispatched I will dress up woolly leather that keeps away the bitter cold, an armor, a shelter and defense against winter snowflakes, so that the power of the north wind does not come through the skin

p. 142

εἶτα δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνα θερμότερον εὐχῶν, ἐπεὶ κελεύεις, ἐπαποδύσομαί τε καὶ περιζώσομαι καὶ τὴν | ἐξ ὕψους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀντίληψιν, ὅσον οἷόν τ', ἐκκαλέσομαι. Παῦλος ὁ καλός – πῶς οὐ καλὸς γάρ, ὃν καλὸν ὁ κάλλιστος καλεῖ πρωτοβεστιάριος; – περὶ τὸν ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα σπεύδων ἀπόπλουν ἐνθένδε, δέλτου τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς Ὀδυσσείας, ἥτις τὸν Ὀδυσσέως ἔκπλουν διέξεισι πρός γε Λαιστρυγόνας, Κίκονάς τε καὶ Φαίακας, ἐμνημόνευσε καὶ χρεώ σε ταύτης ἔφασκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ἱστοῖς τὰ ἱστία σχεδὸν ἐπὶ κεραιῶν καλῳδίοις ἦν αἰωρήσας καὶ καιρὸς ὁ τῆς ζητήσεως ἀποκέκλειστο, τῆς νεὼς ἤδη τοῦ λιμένος ἐξοκειλάσης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔ πως ἔσχεν ἀναδῦναι, μετέπειτα ζητηθήσεται καὶ πλῷ δευτέρῳ διαπεμφθήσεται. νυνὶ δ', ὃ μόνον ἦν, διαπέπεμπται. τὸ δ' ἐστί, λίτρα θυμιάματος μία· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐνῆν τῷ θυμιαματουργῷ μοναχῷ πλεῖον μιᾶς, οὔ, μὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Φίλιον. ἢν δὲ μόσχος ἄριστος διαπεμφθείη, φησί, φθινοπώρου δὴ τοῦ παρόντος κατασκευάσει καὶ διαπεμφθήσεται ἔαρος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ᾠῶν ταρίχη εὑρέθη, ὅτι τοι μηδὲ προσέσχον ἁλείᾳ γένος ἰχθύων κεφάλων οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ· ποθεῖν δὲ τὸν μὴ παρόντα καὶ μάτην καλεῖν ὡς Ἡρακλῆς Ὕλλαν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀξυντελὲς καὶ ἀνόνητον.

52-53 οὔ πως – ἀναδῦναι: cf. Hom. Il. 7, 217; Synes. ep. 5 (11,7 Garzya) οὔπως ἔτι ἔσκεν ὑποτρέσαι οὐδ' ἀναδῦναι || **53** πλῷ δευτέρῳ: cf. adn. ad ep. 4, 15-16 || **56** μὰ τὸν ἱερὸν Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || **60** μάτην καλεῖν – Ὕλλαν: cf. Apostol. 17, 9 (CPG II 688) τὸν Ὕλλαν κραυγάζεις: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην πονούντων καὶ κραυγαζόντων

---

42 κελεύσεις LPdTheil || **59** ἁλεία LPdTheil || **61** ἀνόητον LPdTheil

and then I will begin and prepare myself for a fervent fight of prayers, as you have urged me, and I will call upon you the help from Heaven in as much as I can. The excellent Paul – how can he not be excellent, whom the most excellent Protovestiarios calls excellent? – as he was in a hurry to sail from here back to Trebizond, mentioned the *Odyssey* by Homer, which describes the voyage of Odysseus to the Laistrygones, Kikones and Phaiakes, saying that you needed it. But since the sails of the ship were already spread out and drawn with ropes on the mast the time for searching was ruled out as the ship was departing from the port and for this reason it was impossible to turn it back. The search for the book will follow later and will be sent in a second journey. For the time being, only what is available is being sent – that is, a litre of incense, because the monk who makes it did not have more than one, believe me by Zeus, the god of friendship. If he gets first rate musk, he says, he will prepare it the coming autumn and send it in the spring. Nor was caviar to be found, as they did not catch any mullet at all. To have a yearning for the absent and to call him in vain like Heracles did Hyllas, as in the proverb, is both useless and unprofitable.

Ἐρρωμένος, Θεῷ φίλος διαβιῴη μοι ἐς μακραίωνας ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ τριπόθητος ἐμοὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος.

<νζ'>

νς' **Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ**

Εἶτα, κολοιὸν μέν, ὄρνεον μέλαν, πρόνοιά τις τοσοῦτον ὡραῖον συνέστησεν, ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ὀρνέων ἀξιωθῆναι· τοὺς πρὸς Ἑρμοῦ δὲ μεγίστης εὐδαιμονίας τετυχηκότας, τοὺς Ἑρμαϊκοὺς δὲ περιορῶντας θεράποντας, καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανοῦντας Ἑρμῇ χρυσοῦν ἀναστηλοῦν ἀνδριάντα, οὐκ ἂν εἴη δυσχεραίνων Ἑρμῆς; καὶ μὴν ἔνεστι καὶ φύσις καὶ τέχνη καὶ τύχη τοὺς ἐκείνῳ θητεύοντας συνιστάναι βελτίους καὶ δεικνύναι ταὼς ἀντὶ κολοιῶν καὶ κύκνους λιγυροὺς ἀντὶ κρωζόντων κοράκων.

<νη'>

νζ' **Τῷ βασιλεῖ**

Ὀσπρίῳ τῷ φαυσηλίῳ γεωργῶν παῖδες ταύτην εἶναι φύσιν φασίν· ἀνίσχοντος μὲν ἡλίου πρὸς ἕω νεύειν αὐτό, σταθηρᾶς

57. **2-3** κολοιὸν – ἀξιωθῆναι: cf. Aesop. Fab. 103 (I, 1, 129, 1 sq., Hausrath-Hunger); Salzmann 81-82 || **5** Ἑρμαϊκοὺς – θεράποντας: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41 || **9** κύκνους λιγυρούς: cf. Lucian. Electr. 4, 5 κύκνοι ... τὸ λιγυρὸν ἐκεῖνο ᾄδουσιν; Salzmann 82

58. **2** φαυσηλίῳ] sic P || **3** φασί LPdTheil

May my thrice-longed-for and most excellent Protovestiarios be in good health and live under the protection of God for a very long time.

57. To the Grand Lagothetes

And then some providence made a common black bird, the jackdaw, so beautiful that it was deemed worthy of the kingdom of birds. Yet, those who have attained great prosperity through Hermes, nonetheless disregard his servants, who could erect for him a golden statue. But would Hermes not be displeased at it? Especially when by their origin, position and fortune they can help the situation of those that serve Hermes and even set them up as peacocks instead of jackdaws and sweet-sounding swans instead of croaking ravens.

58. To the Emperor

The farmers say the following about the properties of the leguminous bean plant: At sunrise it inclines towards the east, at

δὲ μεσημβρίας κατὰ κάθετον βάλλοντος πρὸς ὀρθὸν ὄρθιον βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον, ὑποκλίνοντος δὲ καθ' ὁρίζοντα τὸν ἕσπερον ἕπεσθαι καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέρας ἑκάστης, οἱονεὶ τῇ φαύσει δουλαγωγούμενον, κἀντεῦθεν σχεῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἁρμόττουσαν. φαυσήλια τῷ κράτει σου σύμβολα πέπομφα, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ
p. 143 | φαύσεως ἡλίου μέχρι δύσεως ἄρξαις.

νη'

<νθ'>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Πυροῦ τελέως ἐκλελοιπότος με ἔργον γέγονα πυρετοῦ, πυρετοῦ δέον ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεῖ δὴ κριθῆς· αὕτη γὰρ καταψύχειν πυρετὸν δόκιμος. αὐτοῦ καταψυγέντος δεῖ δὴ πάλιν πυροῦ· ἐναντία γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀλλήλων ἀκέσματα. πρόσταξον ἄμφω πρυτανευθῆναι, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ· θάτερον γὰρ βοηθήσει θατέρῳ.

νθ'

<ξ'>
Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

Εἶτα, πελαργοὶ μέν, ὄρνιθες ἄλογοι, προνοοῦσι τῶν πατέρων γεγηρακότων καὶ τροφῆς δεομένων — ἡ πρόνοια δέ, ταῖς γεραιαῖς πτέρυξιν ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαίρουσί πως ἀνακουφί-

59. 5 ἐναντία – ἀκέσματα: cf. adn. ad ep. 33, 3-4

60. 2-5 πελαργοὶ – διαθρέψαιεν: cf. adn. ad ep. 38, 14-16

high noon, when the sun shines his rays vertically, it turns to the sun standing upright, and when the sun reclines towards the horizon in the west, it follows him and this happens daily, as if it is governed by the illumination, and for this reason it has received this fitting name. I have sent beans to your sovereignty so that you may rule from sunrise in the east to sunset in the west.

59. To the Emperor

When my wheat ran out completely, I had a fever attack. To be relieved of the fever I am now in need of barley, which is approved for cooling the temperature. But as soon as the fever is cooled I am in need of wheat again, because although the two are opposed to one another yet they are the remedy for each other. Give the order, your excellency, for them both to be given to me, as the one will assist the other.

60. To the student Phokas

When the storks, birds devoid of reason, take care of their parents when they grow old and are in need of sustenance – their care is bestowed upon them in that they support the wings of the old birds with their own and raise them up, making their flight some-

ζοντες καὶ παρὰ χωρίον θήρας ἐξάγουσιν, ἵνα δὴ διαθρέψαιεν· καὶ θαυμάσιον τὸ προμήθευμα, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς παροιμίαν προενεχθῆναι τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν –, ἡμεῖς δέ, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγενημένοι καὶ λόγῳ τετιμημένοι, ᾧ γε δὴ τῶν ἀλόγων διαφέρομεν, καὶ λόγον ἐπιόντες παιδεύσεως, οὐκ ἂν ἐγκαλοίμεθα πρὸς ὀρνέων ἀλόγων, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ λογικοῖς τελοῖμεν προσήκοντα;

Οἶδα μὲν αἴνιγμα δοκῶν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡ λύσις σαφής. ἴσθι με δυσπραγοῦντα, τὸν παιδευτήν, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ παλαίοντα. πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων, ὧν δή μοι μετέσχηκας, βράχιον τῷ γήρει συγκρότησον, εἴτε τῆς παιδεύσεως εἵνεκα, εἴτ' οὖν φιλίας, εἴτ' ὀφειλῆς ἑτέρας· οἶσθα γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ὀφείλων μοι.

ξ'

<ξα'>
Τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους

Ἁγιώτατε δέσποτά μου, ὅτι μὲν δυσπραγοῦμεν ἔχεις ὀλίγα μεμαθηκώς, ἐξ ὀλίγων δὲ πολλὰ διεγνωκώς, ἢ μᾶλλον πάντα σχεδόν, οἷα νοῦς διαβατικώτατος· φησὶ γάρ τις τῶν θύραθεν

7 ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7 || **8** κατ' εἰκόνα – γεγενημένοι: cf. Gen. 1:27 κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν

5 θὴρ LPdTheil || **15** εἴγε (pro εἴτε) LPdTheil

61. **4** νοῦς διαβατικώτατος: cf. Greg. Naz. in laudem Athanasii (PG 35: 1084) ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος νοῦς καὶ διαβατικώτατος

what lighter, and they direct them to a hunting ground to feed them, a marvellous provision, so that the *antipelargosis* has become proverbial. But we are created in God's image and have been graced with the gift of reason by which we are set apart from the irrational animals and moreover claim that we are enlightened. Would we not be denounced then by the irrational birds, if our conduct did not agree with that of an intelligent being?

I give the impression that I am speaking in riddles, but the answer is now plain. Be informed then that your teacher is faring ill, struggling with poverty for the necessities of life. For God's sake and for the sake of scholarship, which you have acquired through me, support my old age, either on account of your learning or your friendship or some other debt. You know that you are indebted to me in many ways.

61. To the Protos of the Holy Mountain

From the little you have learned about my misfortune, reverend Father, you have understood, as a penetrating mind, much more or rather almost everything. As some one of the secular writers

ἓν μάθημα πλεῖστ᾽ ἂν ἐξεύροι καὶ παροιμία συνίστησιν, ἓν πολλὰ λέγουσα.

Ἔγωγ᾽ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν βασιλίδα ταύτην ἔχων τῶν πόλεων πράττω πονήρως, ὁ σοφὸς δὲ Συνέσιος ἐπιστέλλων φησίν, εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τὰ χωρία γίγνεσθαί τι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸ τυγχάνειν εὐμενοῦς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν τύχην ἀλλάττοντας, πόσῳ μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅθεν ἔστιν ἥκειν βοήθειαν; δόξαν οὖν ἀπᾶραι πρὸς τὸ τῶν ὀρέων ἅγιόν τε καὶ σωστικόν,
p. 144 οὗ σε προεστάναι Θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐδικαί|ωσαν, εἶτ᾽, εἰς νοῦν βάψαντι, μήποτ᾽ ἂν ἔξω σκοποῦ βάλοιμι – γιγνόμενον γάρ –, ἕτερός με θυμὸς ἀνέηκε πυθέσθαι σου πρότερον, εἴπερ ἀφιγμένον προσήσῃ μονυδρίῳ τ᾽ ἐγκαθορμίσεις ἀναψυχήν τιν᾽ ἔχοντι καὶ παράκλησιν· τοῖς τραχυτέροις γὰρ ἐκ προοιμίων αὐτῶν προσβαλεῖν, πρὶν ἐγγυμνασθῆναι τοῖς κουφοτέροις, ἴσως ἀδόκιμον, καὶ δέος μὴ παθεῖν ὅ φησιν Εὐάγριος ὁ θεήλατος, φάσκων, ὁπηνίκα διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν ἔστι τὴν ψυχήν, ἄρτῳ στενοῦσθαι καὶ ὕδατι· οὗ δὴ τὸν ὅρον τοῦτον ἀνατρέπων ἀνθορισμῷ ὁ τῆς ὁσίας πατὴρ κλίμακος, ὁπηνίκα

5-6 ἓν πολλά: cf. Soph. Oed. Rex 120 ἓν γὰρ πόλλ᾽ ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν || **9-10** καὶ παρὰ – Θεοῦ: Synes. ep. 40 (51, 4-6 Garzya) καὶ παρὰ τὰ χωρία τι γίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς τὸ τυγχάνειν τε καὶ ἀποτυγχάνειν εὐμενοῦς τοῦ Θεοῦ || **11** παρὰ τοῖς ὄρεσιν – βοήθειαν: cf. Ps. 121: 1 Ἦρα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὅθεν ἥξει ἡ βοήθειά μου || **20-21** ὁπηνίκα – ὕδατι: Evagr. Pont. Cap. pract. A 7 (PG 40: 1224 B) ὁπηνίκα διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχή, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἐπ᾽ ἄρτῳ στενούσθω καὶ ὕδατι || **22-25:** ὁπηνίκα – ἡδύνοντα: Ioan. Climax Scal. 14 (PG 88: 865B) ὁπηνίκα διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχή, φύσεως ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ ... περικόψομεν τέως τὰ λιπαίνοντα, εἶτα τὰ ἐκκαίοντα, εἶθ᾽ οὕτως τὰ ἡδύνοντα

said “one lesson would lead one on to learn a great deal” and the proverb confirms it, saying “one is many”.

I live in the Queen of Cities and yet my affairs get worse; but as the wise Synesios says in his letters, there are places which exert a certain influence on the welfare of the people in gaining God’s blessings and in changing their fortunes. This holds even truer for the mountains, whence help comes. I have decided to depart for the holy and salvation-offering Mountain, where God and the Emperor have established you to preside. Then I reconsidered it, lest my venture fail – as it happens also – therefore another thought prompted me to inquire from you beforehand, if after my arrival you will accept me and set me up in a small monastery that will provide some rest and support. It is perhaps not approved from the very beginning to start with the rough side of monasticism, without having a previous training in lighter matters, because in this case there is a danger of suffering that which Euagrios, the driven away by God, mentions: when the soul craves different food, it should be straightened by bread and water. But this tenet was refuted by the Father of the Holy Climax with another one according to which, he says,

διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐστι τὴν ψυχήν, ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖν τι, φησί, φύσεως καὶ δεῖν περικόπτειν τέως μὲν τὰ λιπαίνοντα, εἶτα τὰ ἐκμαίνοντα, εἶθ' οὕτω τὰ ἡδύνοντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὅρον ὡρίσθαι διαίτης ἀρίστης.

Ἢν οὖν ἐνδιδῷς, γράμμασιν ἱεροῖς γνώρισον, καὶ δῆτα, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, καὶ χωλὸν ὄψει πρὸς δρόμον· εἰ δ' οὖν, κατὰ χώραν μενῶ, τήν τ' ἐμαυτοῦ πατῶν καὶ κοσμῶν Σπάρταν ἣν ἔλαχον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι κατὰ Θεμίστιον, ἦσθα κάτω κρείσσων, ἀναβὰς δ' ἐγένου μέγα χείρων.

<ξβ'>

ξα'

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Ἐπειδή σοι καὶ λόγος καὶ πόθος, ἅλματα περὶ λόγους γενναῖα τὸν φίλτατον ἅλλεσθαι καὶ σκύμνον οἷα λέοντος περὶ θήραν, εἶναί τε πτερωτὸν ἀετιδῆ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν λόγων

---

28 χωλὸν – δρόμον: cf. Mich. Chon. ep. 129 (211, 84-85 Kolovou); Karathanasis 55 || **29-30** κοσμῶν – ἔλαχον: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 25-26 || **30-31** ἦσθα – χείρων: cf. Jo. Italus Quaestiones quodlibetales (29, 69 Joannou); Pseudo – Elias in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium ΚΒ′ (46, 7 Westerink)

---

26 ὡρίσασθαι LPdTheil || **28** post ὄψει voculam quondam erasit P || **29-30** σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P || **30** ἤλαχον LPdTheil

---

62. **3-4** σκύμνον-θήραν: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Gen. 49: 9; Deut. 33: 22

when the soul hungers after different food, one should seek out that which is a trait to his nature, thereby cutting off first fattening food, next those that arouse desire, and then the ones that bring pleasure, defining this rule as the best regiment.

If you agree then, let me know through your holy letters and then you will see that even a lame can run, as the proverb says. Otherwise, I will stay where I am, holding my ground, adorning the Sparta which fate has given me, and I would not say as Themistios "you were better when below, but in ascending became far worse".

62. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

It is your expressed wish that your dearest son make great strides in his studies like a small lion in pursuit of prey or like a sharp-sighted small eagle flying upwards to the sun of learning. Let him

ὀξυδερκέστατον ἥλιον, ἐπέσθω οἱ παιδαγωγός, ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ λόγων ἔρως καὶ παιδεύσεως ἔφεσις καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἁπάντων τουτωνὶ βέλτιον οἰομένῳ. καὶ γάρ, ᾧ περισπούδαστος λόγος, ῥᾷστ' ἂν καὶ μετάσχοι καὶ μεταδοῦναι φιλοτιμήσαιτο· ναὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ πρὸς τοιούτου παιδαγωγούμενος, εἴ ποτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀπῇ, φροντιεῖ μὲν τῆς ἐν ὁδοῖς εὐκοσμίας, φροντιεῖ δὲ τῆς ἐν Μουσείοις διατριβῆς τῆς οἴκοι τε σεμνῆς καταστάσεως, δεδιὼς ἐπανήξοντα τὸν παιδαγωγὸν καὶ λόγον ἀκριβῶς ἀπαιτήσοντα, κἂν παρημέληκέ του δίκας ἀξίας ληψόμενον· φοβερῶν γὰρ ὄντων τῶν παιδευτῶν οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ φοβερώτεροι, τοῖς νέοις συνόντες ἐφέστιοι.

p. 145 Τοῦτό μοι δέον εἶναι δοκοῦν, εἰ καὶ τῇ σῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ | συνδόξει, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἢ παιδείας ὑπερόπτης ἂν κριθείην ἐγὼ ἢ μὴ λόγων τὸν φίλτατον ὄνασθαι.

<ξγ>

ξβ' Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Ἠιρημένον με σιγᾶν οὔ φησιν ἐάσειν ἀνάγκη· ἀνάγκης κρατούσης αἰδὼς ἀναπείθει σιγᾶν. ἀπορῶ γοῦν, ὅτῳ ποτ' ἂν χρησαίμην ἀμφοῖν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅ τι μεταξὺ θείην αὐτῶν, ἵν' ἐμαυτὸν χαρισαίμην ἐκείνῳ. πλήν, ἐπειδή φασιν αἰδοῦς ἀνάγκην κρατεῖν, ᾗ μηδὲ θεοῖς ἔξεστι μάχεσθαι, χρηστέον ἂν

63. 6 ἀνάγκην – μάχεσθαι: cf. Simonid. fr. 37, 29 (Page); Zenob. I, 85 (CPG I 28); Apostol. 3, 6 (CPG II 289) ἀνάγκῃ οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται; Salzmann 71

therefore be attended by a pedagogue who loves learning, who has a calling for teaching and believes that nothing is more important than education. Because anyone who is eager for learning would readily participate in this activity and would even aspire to share his experience with others. On the other hand, the one who is being educated by such a teacher, even if his mentor should be absent will try to behave decently in the street, pay attention to his studies in school, and respect the order prevailing at home, fearing the return of the pedagogue and his demand for an exact account, and that if he has disregarded something that he will be deservedly punished. If teachers are to be dreaded, pedagogues are to be feared more, living in the same home with the young.

All of the above I consider as essential and if they are in agreement with your philosophy, then I could not be judged as arrogant in matters of education or as not advancing your dearest in his studies.

63. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

I had chosen to keep silent but my need does not allow me, and yet when my need prevails my self-respect persuades me to keep silent. I am at a loss then which of the two to make use of or rather to put forward in order to make the choice. But as the saying goes, need is stronger than honour and even the gods cannot fight it. I therefore select need and with it I speak out.

εἴη ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῷ λέγειν. καὶ σύ, διαιτητής, εἴ τις, ὢν ἀρρεπής, παρόντι καιρῷ χαριῇ.

Συχνός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι μάτην παρῴχηκε, μηδὲν ὀναμένῳ τῆς λειτουργίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήρης ἐτῶν ἡ φορτὶς καὶ φροντὶς μή ποτ' ἐξοκείλαντι τοῦ λιμένος περιπεσεῖν ναυαγίοις καὶ δεῖ δὴ κυβερνήτου, σέ μοι χρᾷ τὸ δαιμόνιον, παρ' ᾧ τὰ τῶν βασιλέως ὄλβων πηδάλια· εἰ γὰρ νεύσαις μόνον καὶ βασιλέα πείσαις, κατάραιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὅρμον ἐγὼ καὶ μιμήσεται μὲν βασιλεὺς τὸν Θεόν, σὺ δὲ τὴν νεφέλην, ἀφ' ἧς χρυσὸν Ῥοδίοις ὗσεν ὁ Ζεύς, καί μ' ὀλβίσας πενόμενον συστήσαις ἂν καὶ νέους, Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας. εἰ δ' οὖν, Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις ἐς Κέρβερον, σχολή, χολὴ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἐς κόρακας· κρεῖσσον γὰρ βάναυσος βίος βίον ἐμπορευόμενος ἢ λόγος, κυμβάλου δίκην ἀλαλάζων ἦχον ἀέριον. πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, γνώρισον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

15-16 νεφέλην – Ζεύς: cf. Pind. Olymp. 7, 34; Lib. ep. 348, 11 (X 330, 15 Foerster) τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μιμήσασθαι νεφέλην, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκεῖνος ὗσε Ῥοδίοις χρυσὸν || **17** Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41 || **18** σχολὴ – χολή: cf. Diog. Laert. Vit. philos. 6, 24, 2 [Διογένης] τὴν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἔλεγε χολὴν || **20** κυμβάλου – ἀλαλάζων: cf. I Cor. 13:1

As an objective arbitrator, show me then your kindness in this instance.

I have wasted a long time in the education of children without deriving any profit from this service. But now that the freighter has become very old and there is a concern lest it run aground and suffer shipwreck, I am in need of a helmsman and as such the divine power recommends you, who holds the rudder of the Emperor's treasury. If you would only consent and convince the Emperor, I could put my ship into port; and the Emperor then imitating god and you the cloud, – from which Zeus rained gold down on the Rhodians – having pronounced me rich in my poverty, you will support the young people who serve Hermes. Otherwise, Hermes together with the youth let it go to Cerberus and my school or better said my bile to ruin. Better to win a living as an artisan than by trading words, which let off a noise in the air as if from a clanging cymbal. For God's sake, make my letter known to the Emperor.

ξγʹ

<ξδʹ>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Μακρός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι παρῴχηκε, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας ὀναμένῳ μηδέν· τί γὰρ ὄναιτ' ἄν τις ἐκ ματαιότητος, τί δ' ἥσυχον γένοιτ' ἄν ποτ' ἀπὸ θορύβου ἢ μὴν ὀρθὸν ἐκ λοξοῦ; τοιγαροῦν, ἀπειρηκότι παιδοτριβεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ῥᾷον οὐδὲν ἄνευ σῆς προσταγῆς. δέομαί σου τοῦ κράτους δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῆς λειτουργίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ἢ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων σιτηρεσίαν, ὡς ἄν, πενομένων διδασκομένων, ἐς τὴν σὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν διαβαίνῃ τὸ κέρδος· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω τὸ διδάσκειν.

ξδʹ

<ξεʹ>
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Ὅταν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα τὴν ἑαυτῶν οἷα τις συνιστῶσι κα-
p. 146 τάστασιν, | περιττὸν ἂν εἴη τῆς θύραθεν δεῖσθαι συστάσεως. ὁ καλὸς δὲ κἀγαθὸς τῶν βασιλικῶν προκαθήμενος ὄλβων, ὥσπερ κἀν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτεῖ τῶν καλῶν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῦτο, τὸ περιττὸν ἓν ἡγεῖται τῶν ἀναγκαίων· νυττόμενον γάρ σε περὶ πρόνοιαν ἐμὴν οἴκοθεν προσνύττει δὴ καὶ αὐτός.

---

64. 5 θόρυβου LPdTheil

---

65. 4 βασιλικῶν – ὄλβων: cf. supra ep. 63, 12-13 σέ μοι χρᾷ… παρ' ᾧ τὰ τῶν βασιλέως ὄλβων πηδάλια

64. To the Emperor

I have spent a long time teaching children, your imperial majesty, and from this accursed service I have had no benefit at all. Because what benefit could one gain from vanity or how could tranquility ever from confusion, or something straight from the crooked? For this reason, I have become weary of teaching and have decided to be set free from it, yet nothing is easy without your agreement. I ask therefore, your majesty, one of the two: release from service or an allowance for food from the imperial *prytaneion* so that I can teach poor students and the profit may be transferred to your imperial soul. Otherwise, let teaching go to its ruin.

65. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

When the circumstances speak of themselves as happens in this case, a testimony from the outside would be superfluous. The good and honourable president of the imperial treasury, who truly excels in all other good qualities, in this instance proves to be superior also, since he considers what appears superfluous to be necessary in this situation. You were prompted to act on my behalf on your own, but the president of the imperial treasury prompts you as well to help me.

Ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν τοιῷδε τυγχάνοντι πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ γίγνοιτο. σοὶ δὲ καὶ τῇ σῇ φύσει τί τις ἀντάξιον εὔξαιτ' ἂν τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προμηθείας; εἰ δὲ καὶ μήπω πρὸς ἔργον ἐκβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαίη γ' ἄν· ἄριστος γὰρ οἰωνὸς ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως κατάνευσις ἥ τε σὴ φύσις καὶ τέχνη περὶ τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν πραγμάτων διαίτησιν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν οὕτω μὲν ἔχεις προνοίας, οὕτω δὲ πειθὼ περισκιρτᾷ σου τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥς τις ἀηδὼν δρυὸς ἐφεζομένη πετήλῳ, τοῦ κρείττονος θήγοντος, πεπείσεται μὲν αὐτῇ βασιλεύς, ἀφαιρεθήσεται δέ μοι πενία τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἰχήσεται δὲ τὰ χείρω καὶ τὰ βελτίω περισκιρτήσει. σοὶ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βασιλείας εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων ἀπόλαυσις.

ξε′

<ξς>
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οἷά με δρῶσιν οἱ παιδεύειν τὰ φίλτατα σφόδρα λίαν καταναγκάζοντες, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πορίζοντες. καὶ μὴν Μωσέως μὲν σιωπῶντος οἷα μεγαβοῶντος ἀκούει Θεὸς καὶ

14-15 ὥς τις – πετήλῳ: cf. Schol. in Euripidem 1514 (I, 401 Schwartz) ἀπηχεῖ δρυὸς πετάλοις ἐφεζομένη

11 ἐκβέβηκε LPdTheil || 15 πετήλῳ ex πετάλῳ corr P

66. 4 μεταβοῶντος LPdTheil

A person endowed with such qualities would receive many blessings from God. But for you and for your character what kind of prayer could be offered that would be worth as much as your care towards me? Even though your help has not yet been extended, nevertheless it should arrive. Because the assent of the Emperor is a good sign along with your disposition and skill to settle matters in an excellent way. Since you are willing to act on my behalf and your words are most compelling, just as those of a nightingale sitting on a leaf of an oak tree, the Emperor with the help of the almighty will be convinced, and then the poverty which sits on my head will be taken away, the worst will have passed, and better times will come. And you in return for all this shall enjoy the kingdom of God for all eternity.

66. To the same

What are they doing to me, those who force me to the utmost to educate their dearest children, without providing me with the necessities of life? Moses may have kept silent, but God heard

τί βοᾷς πρός με; φησίν· ἐμοῦ δὲ Στεντόρειον κράζοντος οὐδ' ἴχνος ἠχοῦς ἐξακούεται οὐδὲ γρῦ τὸ παράπαν τις ἀποκρίνεται. εἶτ' ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτα, ὦ δίκη καὶ παιδεία καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταί, τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοκωφεῖν, ἐμὲ δ' ἧσθαι ἀγέραστον καί γε μὴν ἄσιτα κἀδώρητα φορμίζειν μέλη; ἢ φαίη τις ἂν ἀνεκτά; ἀλλ' ἀντιφθέγξαιτ' ἂν Μωυσῆς μὴ φιμοῦν βοῦν ἀλοῶντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Ἡσαΐας ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, δεῖν λέγων καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τὸν δουλεύοντα. οἱ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθόντες, προῖκα δουλεύειν οὐ προαιρούμενοι, προῖκά με παιδεύειν αἱροῦνται.

Καὶ μὴν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ σκιμπόδων ἱερῶν προκαθέζονται κἀπὶ κλινῶν ἐλεφαντίνων καὶ Μιλησίων στρωμάτων ἀνατάδην καθεύδουσιν, εἶτα, διυπνισθέντων δέ, θεραπεία συχνὴ
p. 147 περιίσταται, σιτώνων τε | καὶ οἰνώνων προνοηταί, οἱ μὲν λόγους ἀποδιδόντες προσόδων, οἱ δ' ἀπίασι τὰς ἀποθήκας ἐμπλήσοντες· αἱ δὲ στενοῦνται μὲν ὥστε καὶ διεσπάσθαι μικροῦ, ἐμοὶ δὲ στενὴ καὶ λεία γαστὴρ καὶ λεπτῇ χειρὶ πόδα πιέζω παχύν, κύλιξ δὲ οἵα

χείλη μέν τ' ἐδίηνεν, ὑπερῴην δ' οὐκ ἐδίηνε,

καὶ τὸ λαρυγγίζειν περὶ προσῳδιῶν, πρόσοδος δὲ οὐδα-

66. **5** τί βοᾷς πρός με: Ex. 14:15 || Στεντόρειον κράζοντος: cf. Karathanasis 30 || **9** ἄσιτα – μέλη: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 49-50 || **10-11** μὴ φιμοῦν – ἀλοῶντα: Deut. 25:4; I Cor. 9: 9 || **12** φαγεῖν – δουλεύοντα: cf. Is. 65:13 οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι φάγονται || **16** Μιλησίων στρωμάτων: cf. Aristoph. Ran. 544 ἐν στρώμασιν Μιλησίοις || **21-22** λεπτῇ – παχύν: Hesiod. Op. 497 || **23** χείλη – ἐδίηνε: Hom. Il. 22, 495; cf. Apostol. 18, 21a (CPG II 723); Hotop 255

23 ἐδίηνεν] sic P

him as if he was shouting at the top of his voice and said to him "why do you cry to me?'. But I call with a voice like Stentor's and yet I hear neither a faint echo nor the smallest syllable as a response. Is it acceptable then, oh justice, scholarship, and lovers of moral beauty that some shut their ears deliberately while I sit unpaid "making melodies that bring neither food nor feed"? Or could someone say that it is acceptable? Yet Moses will tell the opposite "you shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading on the grain", and in addition the loud-voiced Isaiah who says that the servant should eat and drink. But they – I do not understand them – do not like to work without pay, and yet they opt that I should teach for nothing.

On the other hand, these same people sit on sacred couches and sleep stretched upon ivory beds and Milesian mattresses, and when they wake up they are surrounded by a crowd of servants, supervisors of their cornfields and wine-cellars, who render the accounts of their profits, and others who go to fill full their storehouses, which have no more room and are almost bursting. My belly on the contrary is narrow and flat, "and with a shrunk hand I chafe a swollen foot",[23] and my cup is such that "his lips he wetteth, but his palate he wetteth not".[24] And I may loudly declaim poetic meters, but profits come from nowhere.

23. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, tr. H.G. Evelyn-White, 39.
24. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 491.

μοῦ. καὶ τῷ λύκῳ τῆς παροιμίας ἔοικα, μάτην χαίνων καὶ κατὰ τοὺς γύπας ἀέρα ἐγκυμονῶν.

Ἀλλ' εὖ ποιούντων τῶν εὐπορούντων εὖ γ' ἂν ἔχοι καμοί· εἰ δ' οὖν, ποταμῶν ἄνω.

<ξζ'>

ξς' **Τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέος**

Ὀφείλουσι μὲν πατράσι υἱεῖς, ἐπειδὰν γῆρας ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἀμείψωσι, τροφεῖα, ὀφείλουσι δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ παιδευταῖς φοιτηταὶ ἀμοιβὰς ἐκτίνειν ἀξίας, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκωσι τύχης, ἧς ἧκες αὐτός. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν σὺ μὲν ἧψω τῆς κρείττονος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς χείρονος, ἀντισηκοῦν δεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ λῴονα. καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὐχαὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἅρμα τῆς τύχης τῆς βαλβίδος ἐξήλασας, μέχρι νύσσης ἐξ οὐρίων εὐθυδρομεῖν· εἴης δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ κηδόμενος ἡνιόχου καὶ μὴ τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν συγχωρῶν. ἔστι δὲ ῥᾷστον εὐδαιμονίζειν τὸν παιδευτήν, ἥνπερ ἢ βουλομένῳ σοι καλῶς

25 λύκῳ – χαίνων: cf. ad ep. 53, 9-10 || **26** τοὺς γύπας – ἐγκυμονῶν: cf. Ael. Nat. anim. II, 46 (55, 20 Hercher) || **28** ποταμῶν ἄνω: cf. Zenob. 2, 56 (CPG I 47); Diogen. I, 27 (CPG 185); Greg. Cypr. 1, 28 (CPG II 96); Karathanasis 99; Salzmann 90

67. **2-3** γήραος – ἀμείψωσι: cf. Hom. Od. 23, 212 γήραος οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι || **10** τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. I, 281, 10 sq. (van der Valk)

1 κυρίου LPdTheil || **8** ἐξουρίων P

So like the proverbial wolf I am gaping in the air and like the vultures I become pregnant with air.

But if the well-to-do would help out, I would also do well, otherwise, "rivers would run backwards".

67. To the son of Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

Sons ought to pay their fathers when the latter pass the threshold of old age, for bringing them up, and no less ought students to pay their teachers a worthy compensation, especially when they have been favoured by good fortune like you. But since you took hold of good fortune and I the worse, we must support each other to attain the best. For my part I shall pray for you that you may run the magnificent chariot of your good fortune a straight course with a fair wind from start to finish of the race. As for you, you should take care of your teacher, the charioteer, and not let him suffer the fate of Myrtilos. It is easy to make your teacher happy if you wish to use your power for the good. Any-

κεχρῆσθαι τῷ δύνασθαι· ὅτῳ γὰρ βούλησίς τε καὶ δύναμις, ῥᾷσθ' ἔποιτ' ἂν ἔργα, εὐκλεΐζοντα μὲν τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα, ὀλβίζοντα δὲ τὸν εὖ πάσχοντα· ὅτῳ δ' ἀμφοτέρων θάτερον λείπεται, δυσχερές ἐστι τὸ κατόρθωμα. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ βουλήσεως εὖ καὶ δυνάμεως ἔχεις, (καὶ εἴης ἐσαεὶ μείζονος ἔχων, ναί, τῶν δυνάμεων ἔφορε), εἰσὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τρόποι πλείους καὶ πόροι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίας ὑπόθεσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς νῦν καί μοι λόγος, διέξειμι. ἔρως ἑκάστῳ σφοδρὸς γαίης φίλης πατρίδος, οἷον ἄν, εἴ τις νεὼς ἐξάπτοι κελήτιον, ὅτὲ μὲν σῷζον τὴν ναῦν, ὅτὲ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνης σῳζόμενον. τουτὶ τὸ πάθος πῶς δοκεῖς τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἐνεῖναί μοι; ὁπότε δὴ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑρτάκου προσηγορίαν ἔσχον ἐπωνυμίαν. ἀμέλει τοι
p. 148 περικαομένῳ μοι τῆς πατρίδος ἔδοξεν | ἔρωτος αὕτη ψυχαγωγία σφοδροῦ, τῶν ἐπ' ὄρους Κυζίκου μονυδρίων ἱδρυμένων πολλῶν ἑνὸς ἐγκρατῆ καταστῆναι, τοῦτο μέν, ἐφ' ὅσον οὖν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν σχέσιν ἀφοσιοῦν, τοῦτο δέ, καὶ θεῖον σκοπόν, ὃν ἴσως ἄν τις μαθὼν κρίνοι θεοφιλῆ. δόξαν οὖν ᾐτησάμην μὲν τὸν πατριάρχην ἐγώ, ὁ δ', οἷος ἐστί, ταχύς, εὐθὺς περὶ τὰ καλά, καὶ κατένευσε κεφαλῇ καὶ καιρὸν βραχὺν ὡρίσατο σκέμματι.

Τὸ τοίνυν ἐντεῦθεν σὸν ἔργον γένοιτ' ἄν, τοῦ συλλογισμοῖς ἐπιστημονικοῖς δυναμένου, τὸ σκέμμα συναγαγεῖν εἰς συμπέρασμα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἡγήσῃ δέον ἀλλοτρίους μὲν τῶν

19-20 γαίης – πατρίδος: cf. Hom. Od. 10, 49 γαίης ἄπο πατρίδος

12 κεχθρῆσθαι P || **20** νεὼς ἐξάπτοι ex ἐξάπτοι νεὼς corr P || **26** ὅσονοῦν P

one who possesses the will and the power can easily carry out deeds which would bring honour to the benefactor and wealth to the recipient. But if one of the two is missing, success is difficult to attain. But since you possess the good will and the power also – may you enjoy for ever a still greater power, yes, you, guardian of [imperial?] power –, there are several means and ways to be truly happy about which I am going to speak now. Strong love for the fatherland burns in everyone and the bond is similar to a boat attached to a ship, which at times rescues the ship and at others is rescued by it. My passion for the fatherland is indeed stronger than anyone's – you can imagine – and it is for this reason that I have taken the family name of Hyrtakos. At any rate, being consumed by passion for the fatherland, I thought that a relief for my love would be to become the holder of one of the many small monasteries established on the mountain of Kyzikos, so that on the one hand I can strengthen my bond to the fatherland, and on the other dedicate myself to a sacred purpose, which someone who hears it can perhaps judge as dear to God. I also asked the Patriarch about my decision and he, being swift and prompt for a good cause, consented and ruled within a short time to examine the plan.

The matters that lay ahead are work for you, who is competent in logical argumentation and can bring the plan to completion. Indeed, you shall not consider proper that strangers are

πατριαρχικῶν γερῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι, σοὶ δὲ τὸν παιδευτὴν οἷον ἧσθαι ἀγέραστον, ἄλγεα θυμῷ πέσσοντα. μὴ σύ τοῦτό γε, σοφωτάτη καὶ φιλτάτη ψυχή. εἴ γ' οὖν βούλει, φήσω μὲν ἐγώ, σὺ δὲ πέρανον τὸ ζητούμενον, τριῶν μονυδρίων εἰρησομένων, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ τιμίου ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν νοερῶν καὶ θείων δυνάμεων, ὃς ἐπικεκλημένος Ἀσώματος περιφρουρῶν ἐστι τοὺς ἐν σώμασιν, ἁτέρου δὲ τοῦ σεπτοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, ᾧ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφῆκε Σγουρόπουλός τις, δεικνὺς ὅση τις σχέσις ἦν τἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ τρίτου τοῦ τὴν Καρυδίου σχόντος ἐπίκλησιν, ἐπιτηδείου μὲν τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν, ἄλλως δὲ πειραταῖς εὐεπιβουλεύτου, κειμένου παρ' αἰγιαλῖτιν ἀκτήν· οὓς εὐχαὶ πατριαρχικαὶ καθάπερ ᾠδαὶ πάλαι Μωσαϊκαὶ θαλάττης ἔργον Ἑλλησποντιάδος ἐργάσαιντο. οἶδα μέν, οἶδα τὸν πατριάρχην ἄσμενον υἱεῖ φιλτάτῳ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, σὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ παιδευτῇ.

ξζ'

<ξη>
Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν καὶ τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα ἀντευποιεῖν Ἡσίοδος ὑποτίθεται. ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοῦντα μέν σε φιλῶ, εὖ δέ με ποιοῦντα

---

36 ἄλγεα – πέσσοντα: cf. Hom. Od. 12, 427 φέρων ἐμῷ ἄλγεα θυμῷ

---

42 Σγουρόπλος LPdTheil

---

68. 2 Τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν: Hesiod. Op. 353

deemed worthy of the patriarchal rewards and your teacher sits without a gift, his heart sunk in sorrow. None of that to me from you, wisest and dearest soul. If you wish, I will tell you and you can accomplish the request. Of the three small monasteries under consideration, one is dedicated to the honourable Archistrategos of the spiritual and divine host, called Asomatos, being a patron saint of those in the flesh, another is devoted to the holy great martyr Georgios, named thus by a certain Sgouropoulos, thereby indicating his relation (by name) to the Martyr, and the third is called by the surname Karydion, its location being appropriate for withdrawal from the world, but otherwise easily attacked by pirates as it is situated on a remote coast – but may the prayers of the Patriarch, like the psalms of Moses in the past, drown them in the Hellespont. I know, I know well that the Patriarch will gladly grant the favour to his beloved son, and you will in turn give it to your teacher.

68. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

Be friends with the friendly and benefit the benefactor, suggests Hesiod. You love me and I also love you, but the benefit you be-

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἀντευποιεῖν. οὐκοῦν ἀντευποιοίη Θεός, παρ' οὗ τὸ πᾶν σοι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἡμῖν χορηγεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῶν ἀμοιβῶν ἀντιχορηγεῖσθαι.

ξη'

<ξθ'>

Ἀποκαύκῳ παρακοιμωμένῳ

Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς
ἐμᾶς γέγραπται,

προοίμιον ὕμνου πρὸς Ἁγησίδαμον Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ λελυρῴδηται· ἐπαγγειλάμενος γὰρ ὕμνον ἐκείνῳ, εἶθ', | p. 149 ὥσπερ ἐπιλησάμενος αὖθίς τε μνήμης γενόμενος, πρὸς Μελπομένην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Μοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς λύραν μέλποντας ὑμνῳδοὺς ἀναγνῶναί οἱ φησί, ποῖ τῆς αὐτοῦ φρενὸς Ἁγησίδαμος γέγραπται. ὡς γὰρ τρία μέρη φασὶν ἐνεῖναι τῇ ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον τρία ταῦτ' ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ τῇ φρενί, μνημονικόν, φανταστικὸν καὶ δοξαστικόν.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων φιλοσοφητέον ἔστι Πινδάρῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν λαμπρὸν ἀριστέα, τὸν ἀπαράμιλλον λέγω πα-

---

68. 4 ἀντευποίη LPdTheil

---

69. 2-4 Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν – γέγραπται: Pind. Olymp. 10, 1 sq. || **11-12** μνημονικὸν – δοξαστικόν: cf. Arii Dydimi fr. Phys. 15 (H. Diels Dox. Gr. 456, 1-3) ὑπάρχει δέ τινα καὶ σύνθετον αἴσθησιν, ἐν ᾗ τό τε φανταστικὸν πᾶν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ μνημονευτικὸν καὶ τὸ δοξαστικὸν

stowed on me I could not reciprocate. Therefore may God repay you for your beneficence, because He supplied you with the means to benefit me and in return for your benefaction he may offer you the entire reward.

69. To the Parakoimomenos Apokaukos

"Read me the name of the
Olympic victor, the son of
Archestratos, where it has
been written in my mind",[25]

this *prooimion* of the hymn dedicated to Hagesidamos has been composed by the wise Pindar. He had promised him a hymn, then he forgot his promise and when he remembered it again, he called upon his Muse Melpomene and the singers who sing to the lyre to tell him where Hagesidamos was registered in his mind. They say the soul is divided to three parts and in the same way they say that the mind is composed of three parts: memory, imagination, and forming opinions.

But let Pindar reason about these matters as a philosopher. As for me, I greet my magnificent prince, the unrivalled I say

---

25. *The Odes of Pindar*, tr. J. Sandys, 111.

ρακοιμώμενον, τὸν χρυσοῦν τὸν νοῦν, τὸν χρηστὸν τὴν ψυχήν, τὸν εὐθῆ τὴν καρδίαν, μὴ ὅτι γε τῇ τῆς φρενὸς τριμερείᾳ, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ὅλῃ ψυχῇ καὶ νῷ καὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ παρόντα δεξιοῦμαι δόξῃ καὶ ἀπόντα φαντάζομαι καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ παντὸς σύνειμι. κἂν ὁποιδήποτε γῆς ᾖ διατρίβων οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁπότε μοι ἔξω τοῦ μνήμονος γέγραπται, οὐχ ἥκιστα μέντοι καὶ καιρῶν ἐκείνων μεμνημένῳ, καθ' οὓς ἦν μὲν ἐγὼ παιδευτής, ἐφοίτων δὲ συχνοὶ παιδείας μεταληψόμενοι, ὧν ἦν τὰ πρῶτα παρακοιμώμενος εὐφυΐᾳ τε φύσεως καὶ σπουδῇ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιστῆμαι τὸ κράτος ἔχουσιν. ἤδη δ' ἐς μειράκια παραγγείλας οὐ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν εἶχε κατὰ μειράκια, ἀλλ' ἦν στάσιμον καὶ πρεσβυτικόν, εὐσταθὲς καὶ γενναῖον καὶ σῶφρον καὶ διδασκαλικὸν ἄντικρυς, ὁπότε δὴ καὶ τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν μετιὼν ῥαψῳδίαν οὕτω τοι ῥᾷον διὰ στόματος προὔφερεν, ὡς εἰ πλαξὶν ἂν τοῦ μνήμονος ἐγκεκολαμμένην ἐκ παιδὸς εἶχε τοῖς στήθεσι, καθαπερεὶ τὴν προπαίδειαν τῶν στοιχείων ἀνάγραπτον. δεῆσαν δὲ καί ποτε μικρόν τι τοὺς ἀπὸ παιδείας πόνους ῥᾳστώνῃ δοῦναι, οὐ θεάτροις προσεῖχεν, οὐχ ἱπποδρόμοις οὐδὲ δημοκοπίαις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἑορταῖς δὲ καὶ ταύταις ἱεραῖς ἐνεσχόλαζεν, ἧττον δέ τι κἂν βασιλείοις, ὅσον μόνον βασιλεῦσι γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ τότε μετ' ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ σεμνοῦ παραστήματος οἵου

16 εὐθῆ – καρδίαν: cf. Prov. 27: 21 || **18-19** τῇ μνήμῃ – σύνειμι: cf. Synes. ep. 149 (p. 267, 10 Garzya) Ἡμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπὼν ἐπιδημεῖς τῇ μνήμῃ || **25-26** στάσιμον –πρεσβυτικόν: cf. Mich. Psell. Orat. funebr. in patriarch. Const. Leichudem II, 8 (96, 23-24 Polemis) πρεσβυτικὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ἦθος καὶ στάσιμον

18 διαπαντὸς P || **20** οὐχήκιστα P || **34** μόλις (pro μόνον) LPdTheil

Parakoimomenos, the precious mind, the kind soul, the upright in heart, not only through the three parts of my mind, but also with all my soul, mind, and heart [I greet him] as if he were present in my thoughts and though absent, lives ever-present in my memory. And no matter where he is residing, I can never get him out of my mind – not the least recalling the period I was teaching, when many students came to me to be taught and among them the first who excelled as a genius and in his earnestness was the Parakoimomenos, qualities from which the sciences derive their strength. By the time he became an adolescent, he no more had the frame of mind of an adolescent, but that of a stable and adult man, clearly steadfast, noble, of sound mind and inclined for instruction at the same time. When he was reading the Homeric rhapsodies, he would recite them with such ease that it was as if they had been engraved in his memory from his childhood years, or had learned them by heart as the rudiments of the alphabet. And when at some time the need arose to obtain a little respite from the toils of learning, he did not turn to the theaters, the hippodrome, or to crowds and merriment, but instead frequented sacred festivities. He went to the imperial court only to become known by the Emperor and then in a dignified

δή τινος· ἀμέλει καὶ δι' εὐχῶν πᾶσιν ἤγετο, πατράσι, παιδευταῖς, συγγενέσιν, ἑταίροις καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι τῶν καλῶν ἐρασταί. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν οὐκ ἠμοίρηκε καὶ χρόνος οὑπιὼν οἷός τις τὸν ἄνδρα συνίστησι.

Τὸν οὖν οὕτω μὲν ἔχοντα φύσεως, οὕτω δὲ γνώμης, οὕτω δ' ἠθῶν καὶ τρόπων εὐγενῶν πῶς ἄν τις μνήμονος ἔξω τιθείη; καὶ τιθεὶς δὲ πῶς οὐ δικαίως κρίνοιτ' ἂν τὸν δίκαιον ἀδικεῖν;
p. 150 ἔγωγε μέν, οὐδέσιν ἄλλοις ἀξίοις τὸν τηλικοῦτον | δώροις ἔχων δωρήσασθαι, ὅ γ' ἔχω μόνον, εὐχαῖς ἐγκαρδίοις δωροῦμαι· καί, φιλόσοφος ὢν αὐτός, οὐκ ἐπιλήσαιτ' ἄν μού ποτε, τοῦτο μὲν παιδευτοῦ, τοῦτο δ' ἐρεῖν καὶ φίλου θαρρῶ καὶ δεομένου τυγχάνοντος.

ξθ'

<ο'>
Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Καὶ γραῦς μεμαθηκυῖα συκοφαγεῖν καὶ κύων εἰωθυῖα σκυτοτραγεῖν ἄμφω χαλεπώ, παροιμίαι φασίν. ἐγὼ δέ, βίῳ καὶ βίᾳ δακνόμενος, καὶ γραὸς καὶ κυνὸς χαλεπώτερός τε καὶ φορτικώτερος οἶδα γιγνόμενος, καίτοι σιωπᾶν ᾑρημένος καὶ μὴ πράγματά τῳ παρέχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκῃ, φασίν, οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται, καὶ πάλιν, στρεπταὶ δέ τε καὶ φρένες ἐσθλῶν,

70. 2 γραῦς – συκοφαγεῖν: locum non inveni || κύων – σκυτοτραγεῖν: cf. Alciphr. III, ep. 11, 4 (71, 7 Schepers) οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται; Greg. Cypr. 4, 74 (CPG II 126); Apostol. 13, 49 (CPG II 587) οὐδὲ κύων παύσαιτ' ἂν ἅπαξ σκυτοτραγεῖν || **6-7** ἀνάγκῃ – μάχονται: cf. adn. ad ep. 63, 6 || **7** στρεπταὶ – ἐσθλῶν: Hom. Il. 15, 203

and solemn appearance. Naturally he was guided by the prayers of all, fathers, teachers, relatives, colleagues, and other lovers of virtue. And indeed, he proved worthy of their prayers and the time yet to come showed what kind of man he was.

How then can one get out of his mind a man of such a character and disposition, of such morals and kind manners? And if he did, would he not be justly condemned for having wronged a righteous man? Having no other gifts worthy of this man to offer, I extend to him the only thing I have, my hearty wishes. And he, being himself a philosopher, would not forget me, not only as his teacher but, I dare say, as also a friend who happens to be in need.

70. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

The proverbs say it is a bad thing for both the old woman who has learned to eat dry figs and the bitch that became accustomed to gnaw leather. But I am in a worse situation and more burdensome than the old woman and the bitch, this I know quite well, being troubled by life and injustice although I had chosen to keep silent and not to create problems to anyone. But as they say, "against necessity not even the gods make war" and again

μεταβαλὼν τοῖς γέ μοι δοκοῦσι καλοῖς ἀντιπεριίσταμαι καί, παρεὶς σιωπᾶν, ὑπ' ἀνάγκης λέγειν βιάζομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν, εἰ δυναίμην, βουλοίμην, οὔτ' οὖν, εἰ βουλοίμην, δυναίμην σιγᾶν, πρός γε βίον καὶ βίαν ἀντιπαραταττόμενος, ἄμφω δεινώ. ἐπεί τοι μηδ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ καρτερὸς πρὸς δύο, καρκίνον καὶ ὕδραν, ἀντικαθίστατο, βίαιον ἆθλον ἀθλῶν, εἰ μὴ συνῆν τἀνδρὶ συλλήπτωρ Ἰόλεως. τίνι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ χρησαίμην συλλήπτορι πρὸς ἅττ' ἀντιπαλαίειν ἀγών μοι, ὅτι μὴ Θεῷ σωτῆρι καὶ σοὶ συνεργῷ;

Ἔοικε μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος παλιμβόλῳ καρκίνῳ πλαγίως βαδίζοντι, ἡ βία δ' ἄντικρυς ὕδρᾳ πολυκεφάλῳ, ὅσῳ τεμνομένη τὰς κεφαλάς, ἃς αἰτίας δεινῶν ὁ χρόνος ἐκφύει, τοσούτῳ πλείους καὶ χείρους ἀπροόπτως ἀναδιδούσῃ· ἃς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀποτέμῃ τελέως ὅτι μὴ Θεὸς ὁ κραταιὸς ἀλεξίκακος, πρότερον μὲν ἀνελὼν ὡς καρκίνον τὸν λαιῶς πως κινούμενον βίον, εἶτ', ἀφείς, τὴν βίαν, ὕδραν ἀνεπικούρητον, εὐκαταγώνιστον οὖσαν πρὸς παντελῆ δειροτόμησιν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τρυτάνῃ ταλαντευόμενος καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἀμφιρρεπὴς ὢν πλάστιγγα, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκης, τὴν

---

12 μηδ' Ἡρακλῆς – δύο: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3 || **14** συλλήπτωρ Ἰόλεως: cf. Synes. ep. 150 (268, 12-13 Garzya) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰόλεω συμμάχου καὶ παραστάτου; Greg. Naz. ep. 156 (II 47, 1 Gallay) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τοσοῦτος ἦν [ὁ Ἡρακλῆς], εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰόλαον εἶχε συναγωνιζόμενον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ὕδρας μάλιστα || **25** ἐν τρυτάνῃ ταλαντευόμενος: locus communis, cf. ex. gr. Mich. Gabr. ep. 25 (53, 8-9 Fatouros) ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύων

---

22 ὡς] supra scr P || **22** βίον] in marg P || **23** βίαν] in marg P || **24** παντελῆ] supra scr P

"the hearts of the good may be turned",[26] I therefore changed my attitude towards what seemed to me good and thus gave up my silence, driven by necessity to speak. Because neither if I could would I, nor if I wished could I keep silent, since I stand against life and injustice, which are both terrible. Yet not even the mighty Heracles would have been a match for two, the Karkinos and Hydra, in his fierce struggle, had he not had the help of Iolaos. But to whom could I turn for help in the struggle I carry on if I am not supported by God the savior and you?

Life is then like the unstable crab which walks sideways, and injustice is clearly like the many-headed Hydra, whose heads when chopped increase in number and become even worse unexpectedly multiplied – time propagates them as the cause of suffering. No one could cut them off completely unless the mighty God, warding off all evil, beforehand wipes out the life which moves like the crab sideways, and in this manner left with the injustice alone, he cuts the throat entirely of the helpless and easily subjugated Hydra.

As for myself I sway back and forth as if on a pair of scales, inclining both ways on the balance, one time towards need, the other towards shame, unable to choose which of the two will pre-

---

26. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, II, 121.

δ' αἰδοῦς, οὐκ ἔχω τῆς νικώσης ὁποτέρᾳ παραχωρήσαιμι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ θατέρᾳ, πρὸς ἀνθολκὴν ἀτέρα κατάγει, ἣν δ' αὖ ἀτέρᾳ, θατέρα ταὐτὸ πάλιν. καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἑκατέραν πρὸς στάθμην εὐθύτητος ταλαντεύσασθαι· θέλω θεῖναι χάριν τῇ τῆς αἰδοῦς; ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνθέλκει· αἱροῦμαι ταύτῃ χαρίσασθαι; κἀκείνην ἀπάγχουσαν ὑφορῶμαι. ἕν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς
p. 151 ἐξίσωσιν ῥέπον, ἢν ὁ τοῦ ζυγοῦ μέσος ἐφεστὼς | ἐπιβάτης ὥσπερ τις ἡνίοχος ἅρματος πειθοῖ προτρέψῃ τὴν στάθμησιν, συμβιβάσας μὲν τὴν ἀνάγκην αἰδοῖ, δοὺς δὲ τὴν δέησιν πειθοῖ. πειθὼ δὲ τῇ χρείᾳ γένοιτ' ἂν πάροχος· ὁ γάρ τοι χρόνος κατερρίκνωσέ μου θοιμάτια θέρους δ' ἔτι κρατοῦντος, σχολῇ γε τῇ χειμῶνος δριμύτητι, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀφιξόμενος ἑτοιμάσει μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν φαρέτραν, θήξας δὲ στιλβώσει τὰ βέλη – οἶσθα τίνα τὰ βέλη –, ἐντείνας δὲ τὸ τόξον ἀνέμοις Θρηικίοις, τοξόταις ἐοικόσιν εὐστόχοις, τῶν βελῶν πιστεύσει τὴν ἄφεσιν ὥστε δὴ βάλλειν οὓς ἔξεστι. καὶ δεῖ δὴ προευτρεπίσαι τὰ τῶν ὅπλων πρὸς τὴν συμβολὴν ἀμυντήρια

δέρματα λαχνήεντα τά τε φρίκην ἀλεείνει,
θώρακα χειμερίων νιφάδων ἀλεωρῆς τ' ἄλκαρ,
ὡς μὴ ἶς Βορέαο δριμὺ διὰ χρωτὸς ἄησιν.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χειμῶνος. ἔργα δὲ νυνὶ φθινοπώρου, Διονυσίων ὄργια καὶ βακχεύματα οἰνάδων τε τρυγητοὶ καὶ βρασμοὶ Διονύσου ψοφώδεις καὶ κεραμίων καὶ πίθων παρα-

44-46 δέρματα – ἄησιν: cf. ep. 56, 39-41

29 θατέρα ταὐτὸ πάλιν ex ταὐτὸ πάλιν θατέρα corr P || **41** εὐστοχῶς LPdTheil || **45** χειμερίνων LPdTheil

vail. Because if I tip the one side, the other pulls in the contrary direction downwards, and again the same happens with the other when I try the other side. It is not possible to balance the two in a straight line. I want to place more weight on shame, then the side of need draws in the other direction. I choose to favour this one? Then I see the other trying to strangle me. I consider then only one possibility for balance, namely if the marker who stands like a charioteer in the middle of the weighing scale would settle the weighing with the art of persuasion, reconciling need with shame, making my petition more convincing. Persuasiveness like a bystander would help to meet my needs.

Time has shriveled my clothes and it is yet summer season. It will be still worse during the harshness of winter, which will arrive soon and when he will prepare his quiver without delay, sharpening and polishing his arrows – you know what kind of arrows – stretching his bow and letting the shooting to the Thracian winds, which are like well-aimed archers who can hit the mark and shoot at the enemy. Before the attack we must then make preparations for the defensive weapons: Shaggy hide that keeps away the bitter cold, an armor, a shelter and defense against winter snowflakes, so that the power of the north wind does not come through the skin.

But these are the exploits of winter. At this time we have the deeds of autumn, namely the rites of Dionysus, the bacchic revelries of the vine, the grape-gathering, the noisy fermentation of the new wine, the preparation of the earthenware and of the wine-jars, the other cares and pursuits, which are for the grand

σκευαὶ καὶ φροντίδες ἄλλαι καὶ μέριμναι, μείζους μὲν μείζοσι, μείοσι δὲ μείους, πρὸς ἃ πτοεῖται τἀνθρώπινον. καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσι τὸ περιττόν ἐστι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν, πλέον τῶν ἐχόντων φροντίζουσιν, οὗ δὴ κόμματος εἷς τυγχάνων εἰμί. ἀλλὰ βαβαὶ προνοίας Θεοῦ, ἣ μηδὲ τούτους ἔξω κλείει κηδεμονίας· πιστεύει γὰρ πιστοῖς οἰκονόμοις τὰ τούτων, ἵν' ὦσι συντελοῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἑκάτεροι. ὃ δὲ μᾶλλον καινότερόν τε καὶ προμηθέστερον, οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες διδῶσι πλέον τοῖς ἔχουσι, λαμβάνοντες μὲν ἧττω, ἀντιδιδόντες δὲ μείζω καὶ ἀντ' ἐπικήρων ἀΐδια· ὃ πηλίκης ἀντάξιον ἀμοιβῆς, ἄνθρωπον μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ διδόναι, πένητι πλούσιον, λαμβάνειν δὲ Θεὸν ὀφειλέτην εἰς ἔκτισιν, ἀριδήλως κηρύττοντα, ὃς ἂν ποιήσῃ τούτων ἑνὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀδελφῶν, ἐμοὶ πάντως πεποίηκεν;

<οα′>

ο′

Νικηφόρῳ Μετοχίτῃ υἱῷ μεγάλου λογοθέτου

Σὸν ἔργον τοῦ φιλοσόφου, χρήσασθαι μὲν ἀποφάσει πρότερον, εἶτ' εὐθὺς μεταβαλόντος καταφάσει καὶ ταύτην ἔργῳ συστῆσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὄντως φιλόσοφον, μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος. στρεπταὶ γὰρ φρένες ἐσθλῶν ἐπ'

61-62 ὃς ἂν – πεποίηκεν: Matth. 25:40

61 εἰς ἔκτισιν] in marg P

71. 5-6 στρεπταὶ – ἐσθλά: cf. adn. ad ep. 70, 7 || ἐσθλῶν ἐπ' ἐσθλά: Theogn. Elegiae I, 35; Lib. ep. 81,4 (X 82, 17-18 Foerster) ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλά

great and for the lesser small and about which humans are excited. But for those that have nothing at all the surplus of cares belongs more to them because they are more anxious than the wealthy, and I am one of those that belongs to this category. But, bless me, the providence of God does not exclude from its care even those who are poor, because it entrusts their concerns to faithful stewards so that each can be of service to the other. But what is even more novel and provident is that those that have nothing to offer give more than those that have, receiving from them less but offering in return much more, and instead of earthly giving eternal. It is indeed worthy of a great reward a man to help his fellow man, a rich man the poor man and on account of it to receive God as his debtor, who clearly proclaims, "as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me".

71. To Nikephoros Metochites, the son of the Grand Logothete

Your deed is that of a philosopher, that is to have reached a negative decision earlier and afterwards changing your mind to a positive proposition to put it into action. This is indeed a trait of a philosopher, to change a decision from the worse to the better. Because "the heart of the good may be turned to a good

p. 152 ἐσθλά. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐκέτι σὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν | οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὅ τί κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσῃς. οὐκοῦν τοὐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἀσκητὸν πῖλον, Ἡσιόδῳ πεισθεὶς τῷ σοφῷ, πέπομφας, ἵν' οὔατα μὴ καταδεύω. ἐγὼ δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ πίλου τίνι γ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεῳ χάριτ' ἀνταμειψαίμην; ὅτι μὴ λῴοσιν εὐχαῖς, περικεφαλαίας σωτηρίου σοι μνηστευούσαις, καὶ στέφανον πεποικιλμένον ἐξ ἀρετῶν, οἱονεὶ κειμήλιόν τι πολύολβον· τὴν γάρ τοι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πήληκα, ἣν Ὅμηρος ὡς χρύσεόν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγιστον ἐκθειάζει, ἑκατὸν πρυλέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν, οὐδὲν ἱερὸν ἐγῷμαι ἀλλ' ἢ κυνέην Ἅδου. ἡ σὴ δ' ὄντως Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐχ ἐκ τῆς Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἔνοπλος προϊοῦσα – λῆρος γὰρ τοῦτο τεράτευμα –, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκηράτου Θεοῦ σοφίας, ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀθάνατος φρόνησις καὶ οὐράνιός ἐστι καὶ αἰώνιος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πάνοπλος καὶ ἀήττητος, ὁρωμένους καὶ μὴ ὁρωμένους πολεμίους ἀοράτως δυναμένη καταγωνίζεσθαι.

Τοιάνδ' ἱερὰν ἐγώ σοι, τῷμῷ καλλινίκῳ καὶ ὀλυμπιονίκῃ Ἡρακλεῖ, μνηστεύω ταινίαν, τιάραν καὶ κίδαριν.

6-7 οὐδὲ γὰρ – κατανεύσῃς: Hom. Il. 1, 526-527 || **8-9** ἀσκητὸν – καταδεύω: cf. Hesiod. Op. 546 πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητόν, ἵν' οὔατα μὴ καταδεύῃ || **10-11** περικεφαλαίας σωτηρίου: cf. Is. 59: 17; Ephes. 6: 17 καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθαι || **14** ἑκατὸν – ἀραρυῖαν: Hom. Il 5, 744 || **15** οὐδὲν ἱερόν: cf. adn. ad ep. 8, 38 || κυνέην Ἅδου: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 845 Ἀθήνη δῦν' Ἄϊδος κυνέην

9 καταθεύω P || **21** τοίαν LPdTheil; τῷ 'μῷ P; καὶ] om LPdTheil || **22** τίαρας LPdTheil

cause";[27] "no word of yours may be recalled no longer, nor is false, nor unfulfilled, whereto you bow your head".[28] You have sent me, following the wise Hesiod, a shaped cap of felt to keep my ears from getting wet. With what could I repay your kindness in return for the cap that would be deserving, if not with my best wishes, which are offered to you like a helmet to keep you safe and a crown decorated with virtues like a treasure rich in blessings? The helmet of Athena which Homer praised as a great fine golden object, "fitted with the men-at-arms of an hundred cities",[29] I consider it not sacred but as "the cap of Hades".[30] Your Athena indeed does not emerge in full armor from the head of Zeus – a silly and absurd story – but from the undefiled wisdom of God; she is truthful, an everlasting prudence, heavenly and eternal; moreover, fully-armed and unconquered, she is capable of vanquishing both visible and invisible enemies.

Such a sacred headband, such a tiara, such a diadem I pledge to my gloriously triumphant Olympic winner, Herakles.

27. *Ibid.* I, 121.
28. *Ibid.* I, 43.
29. *Ibid.* I, 249.
30. *Ibid.* I, 257.

οα′

<οβ′>
Φωκᾷ φοιτητῇ

Ὅτῳ δὲ ἄρα Θεὸς τοῦ μνήμονος ἐπικάθηται καὶ κινεῖ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀγαθὰ λέγειν πρὸς βασιλέα, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη κινεῖν, κινούμενον οἴκοθεν. οὐκοῦν, ἐμοῦ σιωπῶντος, τὴν σὴν κινοίη γλῶτταν Θεός.

οβ′

<ογ′>
Λουκίτῃ φοιτητῇ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἧκεν ἡμῖν Τραπεζοῦντιθεν γράμματα λαμπρά, πρωτοβεστιαρίου τοῦ καλοῦ Λουκίτου πεπομφότος, χρηστὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μηνύοντα· ἃ δὴ πολλάκις ἀνελίττοντες καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἰόντες πῶς δοκεῖς ἡδόμεθα ἐπί τε τῇ νῦν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν γε γραμμάτων εὐτεχνίᾳ; καὶ τεθαύμακα μὲν τὸν ἐπιστείλαντα, μεμακάρικα δὲ τὴν ὀλβιωτάτην ἐν λόγοις καὶ πάγχρυσον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ φιλευσεβοῦς βασιλέως πόλιν, τὴν τῶν ἁπανταχῇ γῆς εὐδαιμόνων πόλεων εὐδαιμονεστάτην βασιλίδα τε καὶ μητρόπολιν. ῥήτορας ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσόφους, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκρους ἀστρονόμους ὠδίνουσάν τε καὶ τρέφουσαν – ἐῶ γὰρ ἐρεῖν πᾶσαν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν, ὅση τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβείας καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ὅση τῆς Ἑλληνίδος ἐπιστήμης –, καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς μεταδιδοῦσαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπὲρ τὰς σοφὰς καὶ χρυσὰς ἐκείνας

73. 11 ὀυχήκιστα P

72. To the student Phokas

He whose memory is guided by God and whose tongue is moved to report to the Emperor only the good, it would be superfluous to prompt him to speak now that he has taken upon himself the initiative. May God then inspire your tongue while I keep silent.

73. To the student Loukites, the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

Splendid letters came to us from Trebizond sent by the Protovestiarios, the excellent Loukites, reporting good news about him. I opened them and read them many times and I derived great pleasure – believe me – both with his good fortune and his well-written letters. I admired the author of the letter and at the same time pronounced happy the blessed in learning, the golden city of the pious Constantine the Great, the most prosperous Queen of Cities, the Metropolis of all the prosperous cities, which gives birth and raises orators and philosophers and not the least leading astronomers – I set aside all the other philosophical trends regarding either our piety and nobility or Greek science – and in the dissemination of the sciences to all the other cities the Queen of Cities surpasses even that old golden Athens of the

p. 153 Ἀθήνας πάλαι ποτέ· κρείττους γὰρ νῦν | ....[Ἀπό]λλωνος φόρμιγγος. χρῶ δὴ νήταις καὶ φορμίζων καλὸν ἀείδοις· κἂν τινά που κατὰ γῆν αἰνήτην συμβαίη τέττιξ, ἀναπληρώσει τὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀνάκλημα, καθαπερεί ποτε τῷ Λοκρῷ. θεοφιλής, ἐρρωμένος, εὐδαίμων διαβιῴης καί σοι ποτὶ γούνασι παῖδες παππάσαιεν, τοῦ κρείττονος εὐδοκήσαντος.

<οδ´>

ογ´

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ τῷ Μετοχίτῃ

Σολομῶν μὲν ἐκεῖνος, τὸ τῆς σοφίας ὄργανον, καιροῖς ἑκάστοις τὰ πρόσφορα σοφῶς διαιρῶν, τῷ τε χαίρειν καὶ τῷ λυπεῖσθαι, τῷ τε σιγᾶν καὶ τῷ λέγειν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐριπίδης, λέγων ἔστι μὲν οὗ σιγὴ κρείττων

18-19 φορμίζων – ἀείδοις: cf. Hom. Od. 1, 155 φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν || **19-21** τέττιξ – Λοκρῷ: cf. Clem. Alex. Protr. I, 1 (53, 8-11 Mond sert) Ῥήγνυται χορδὴ τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐφίπταται ὁ τέττιξ τῷ ζυγῷ ... καὶ τοῦ τέττιγος τῷ ᾄσματι ἁρμοσάμενος ὁ ᾠδὸς τὴν λείπουσαν ἀνεπλήρωσεν χορδὴν || **21-22** καί σοι – παππάσαιεν: cf. Hom. Il. 5, 408 οὐδέ τί μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν

16 χρείττους LPdTheil || post paginam 152 unum seu plura folia archetypi codicis excidisse videntur

74. 3-4 τῷ τε χαίρειν – λέγειν: cf. Eccl. 3:4; 3:7

past. Because now the best.. .... the lyre of Apollo. "Strike the chords then and begin the pleasant song". And if ever the cicada happens to accompany somewhere on earth one who sings praises, it will add to the tune of the melody, as in the case once with Lokros. Beloved of God, in good health, may you have a prosperous life and may with God's blessing your "children prattle around your knees".[31]

74. To the Grand Logothete Metochites

Solomon, that instrument of wisdom, had in a wise way appointed the appropriate time for everything, to laugh and weep, to keep silence and to speak, and in nearly the same way the tragic poet Euripides had said "silence is sometimes better than

31. Cf. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 225.

λόγου, ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγῆς λόγος. ἀμφοῖν δὴ πεπεισμένος ἐγὼ ἐσίγων μὲν ὅτε δεῖν ἦν, λέγω δὲ νῦν ὅτε καιρός. καὶ τὸ σὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον, ὀρθῶς τοῖς πράγμασι διαιτῶν καὶ διαιροῦν ἄριστα, οὔποτέ μ' ἀθερίσει βέλτισθ' ὁμιλέοντα, φαίη γ' ἂν Νέστωρ ὁ Πύλιος. μηνύματα συχνά, χειμερίαις ἐοικότα νιφάδεσσι, παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀφικνοῦνται λαμπρότητος ὥστ' ἐπιδιδόναι παιδείᾳ τὸν φίλτατον, τὰ μὲν συγκεκραμένα πως ἱλαρότητι, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ δριμύτερον καθικνούμενα.

Πρὸς ταῦτα τίνα με δεῖν ψυχὴν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ συνῄδειν ἐμαυτῷ μηδέν τι τοῦ φιλτάτου παραμελεῖν; δέομαι πλὴν ἀκοῦσαί μου μικρόν. οἱ πρὸ σοῦ τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἐλαύνοντες ἅρμα πολλὴν περὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμοῦ θεράποντας ἐπεδείκνυντο πρόνοιαν, οἴκοθέν τε καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων ἀποσιτίζοντες, κἀντεῦθεν εὔκλειαν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς, τοῖς δ' εὐδαιμονίαν πορίζοντες. ἵν' οὖν τοὺς παλαιτέρους ἐάσαιμι, τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐρῶ. Μουζάλων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πρὶν μέγας μὲν λογοθέτης, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος, οὐ τὸν Ὑαλέαν, οὐχ ὁ κανικλείου Χαλκωματόπουλον βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων ἠξίωσαν, οὐχ ὅσον οἷόν τ' εὐδαιμόνισαν; ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τίνος καὶ πόθεν, εἰ μὴ σὺ καὶ τὸ σὸν προνοήσεταί μου φιλόσοφον καὶ βασιλικῆς ἀξιώσει κηδεμονίας; τότε δή, τότε καὶ χωλὸν ὄψει πρὸς δρόμον. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω σχολή, ἐρρόντων
p. 154 λόγοι· βίου βαναύσου μελήσει μοι. |

5-6 ἔστι – λόγος: cf. adn. ad ep. 32, 5-6 || **9** οὔποτε – ὁμιλέοντα: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 261 καὶ οὔ ποτέ μ' οἵ γ' ἀθέριζον || **10** μηνύματα – νιφάδεσσι: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 28-29 || **17-18** Ἑρμοῦ θεράποντας: cf. adn. ad ep. 7, 40-41

speech, and speech sometimes than silence".[32] Having been convinced by both I kept my silence when I ought to have done so, but now on this occasion I speak. Your philosophic mind, according to which you arrange and analyze matters, will never regard me with contempt when I propose the best, as Nestor of Pylos would put it. Your frequent messages "like winter snowflakes" arrive one after the other from your eminence, inquiring about the progress in school of your beloved son, some mixed with a certain cheerfulness, others coming in a stricter tone.

But with regard to your messages, how should I react, knowing that the education of your beloved is not neglected? I only beg you to listen to me a little. Your predecessors who run the chariot of State showed great care for schools and for those who teach, financing their support either with their own means or from the imperial treasury, thereby securing fame for themselves and for the others, prosperity. And in order to leave out the older, I will mention the recent ones. Did not the famous Mouzalon, former Megas Logothetes and then Protovestiarios, honoured with an imperial stipend Hyaleas, and the supervisor of the office of Kanikleion do the same with Chalkomatopoulos, making them both prosperous as best as they could? Who then will take care of me and whence will help come if your philosophic mind is not concerned and does not accord me the privilege of imperial protection? Then you will see that even the lame can run! Otherwise, to hell with school and to hell with books. I will take care to earn my livelihood as a labourer.

32. Euripides, *Orestes*, tr. A.S. Way 179.

<οε´>

οδ´

Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἓξ τέλειος, γεννῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκ μερῶν οἰκείων, λέγω δὴ τριῶν, δύο τε καὶ ἑνός, ἅπερ, καθεξῆς συντιθέμενα, τὸν ἓξ τέλειον ἀπαρτίζουσιν· ὅς, τετράκις συντιθέμενος, γεννᾷ τὸν εἰκοστὸν τέταρτον ἀριθμόν. καὶ τοὔμπαλιν, ἑξάκις ὁ τέσσαρα συμπερατοῖ τὸν αὐτόν. τοῦτον δὴ διὰ ῥοιᾶς γενημάτων ἑξάκις πέπομφά σου τῷ κράτει συμβολικῶς, ὡς ἂν τρεῖς βασιλεύοντες καὶ τέταρτον συμβασιλεύοντα σχοίητε· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τεττάρων τελείων ἄριστ᾽ ἂν διοικοῖτο ἡ κοσμικὴ τετράπλευρος πλήρωσις, τετραβασιλείῳ περιφρουρουμένη φιλευσεβεῖ.

Ἔγωγε δ᾽, οἷς ὁ θεοπάτωρ Δαβὶδ πρὸς Θεόν, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶμαι πρὸς σέ, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου χριστόν· ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος ῥυσθῆναί με, ἵνα μὴ ἐμπαγῶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν μου ἐξενεχθῆναί με.

75. 13-14 ἀπὸ πηλοῦ – ἐμπαγῶ: cf. Ps. 39:3; 68:15 || **14-15** ἐκ τῶν – ἐξενεχθῆναί με: cf. Ps. 24:17 ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκῶν μου ἐξάγαγέ με

5 τέτρατον LPdTheil || **5-6** τούπαλιν P

75. To the Emperor

Among the single numbers the number six is an even perfect number, because it is made up of its own parts, I mean, three, two and one, which upon being added produce the perfect number six, which being four times multiplied yields the number twenty-four. And contrariwise, four multiplied six times attains the same number. Four times multiplied by six I have sent to your majesty in a symbolic way the fruit of the pomegranate so that you, the three reigning Emperors, may have a fourth co-emperor. In this manner the universal four-sided union would be governed in a perfect way by four excellent ones, protected by a pious four-emperor joint rule.

As for me, I address to you, the anointed of the Lord, the same words the ancestor of God David had uttered to God: "draw me out of the miry clay " lest I become stuck in it and "bring me out of my distresses".

οε'

<ος'>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φειδώ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ πειθώ, πάρισα μὲν τῇ προφορᾷ, ἄνισα δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ, εἴπερ ἐκ πειθοῦς μὲν γένοιτ' ἂν ἔλεος, ἐκ φειδοῦς δ' ὄλεθρος. δεῖ δὴ τοιγαροῦν ἔχεσθαι μὲν πειθοῦς, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ φειδοῦς. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν χαίρει μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ φειδοῖ, χαίρεις δὲ σὺ πειθοῖ, δύνῃ πείσειν τὸν βασιλέα, οὗ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἔλεος προπορεύονται.

ος'

<οζ'>
Τῷ κανικλείου

Ἐγὼ δὲ τί ποτ' ἂν ἕτερον πάσχω πάθος, ὅτι μὴ ταὐτόν, ὅπερ ὁ μῦθος οἶδε τὸν Τάνταλον, ᾐωρῆσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ λίμνης δίψει φλεγμαίνοντα, μὴ δεδυνημένον δὲ πιεῖν ἐκτετηγανίσθαι καὶ

76. 1 epistulam imperatori falso attribuit scriba || 7 δικαιοσύνη – προπορεύονται: cf. Ps. 88:15 δικαιοσύνη ... ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια προπορεύσονται

77. 3-9 τὸν Τάνταλον – ἀκολάστῳ: cf. Eust. Comm. Od. 1, 436, 34-41 ἐπειδὴ συνὼν θεοῖς τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων μετέδωκε τοῖς ὁμήλιξι ... τῶν δέ γε πλασμένων ᾐωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν οὐρανοῦ μέσον καὶ γῆς οἱ μὲν αἰτίαν τῆς κολάσεως εἶπον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν προσεχῶς ῥηθεῖσαν, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀκόλαστον γλῶσσαν; cf. Karathanasis 31-32 Ταντάλου τιμωρίαι

3 δίψει ex δίψῃ corr P || 4 μηδὲ δυνήμενον LPdTheil

76. [To a court official]

Among people there is a reluctance to give (pheido) but there is also persuasion (peitho). They are both pronounced in exactly the same way yet they are different in their meaning, if indeed from persuasion could result mercy and from miserliness, destruction. One must therefore adhere to persuasion and avoid stinginess. Since then from stinginess the Emperor does not derive joy and you draw pleasure from persuasion, you can persuade the Emperor, whose vanguards are justice and mercy.

77. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

My suffering is no other but is actually the same as the myth relates of Tantalos, who was hanging over a lake burning from thirst, unable to drink and destroyed by fire, thus paying the

τίνειν δίκην πικρὰν πρὸς Διὸς τοῦ πατρός· θεοῖς γὰρ συνεστιώμενος, κοινῆς τραπέζης ἀξίωμ' ἔχων ἴσον καὶ μυστηρίων ἠκροαμένος, εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν κατιὼν καὶ τοῖς κάτω συνδιαιτώμενος, ἃ μὲν ἑώρα, ἃ δ' ἠκροᾶτο, γλώττῃ διεπόρθμευεν ἀκολάστῳ. ἐγὼ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθών, γλῶτταν μὲν κεκολασμένην ἀσκῶν, ἐπαινέτιν δὲ βασιλέως κατάκρας ἀνδρῶν τε σοφῶν, δίκην ἴσην τίνω Ταντάλῳ, μεταξὺ πλουτούντων πεπολιορκημένος πενίᾳ καὶ στερραῖς ἐνδείας βαλλόμενος ἑλεπόλεσιν, p. 155 ἀνδρῶν καὶ ταῦτα σοφῶν, | βασιλέα δυναμένων πείθειν εὐεργετεῖν — ἐῶ γὰρ ἐρεῖν ἑαυτούς.

Καὶ μὴν πλείους ὑποκρινόμενοί με φιλεῖν, πλήττειν δὲ μᾶλλον κρύβδην τεχνώμενοι, μακάριον ἥγηνται καὶ μακαρίαν κενὴν μακαρίζουσι, φάσκοντες ὠλβίσθαι πρός τε βασιλέως πρός τε δὴ τῶν ἐν τέλει· ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν ταλανίζω, τὴν ἐμὴν δυσδαιμονίαν διανοούμενος. καὶ μὴν Ὑαλέας ἐκεῖνος διδάσκων τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων ἀπεσιτίζετο καὶ χρυσίον συχνὸν ἐπορίζετο μέχρι τῷ χρεὼν ἐλειτούργησεν. ὅ γε μὴν Χαλκωματόπουλος — ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ὁπόσον εὐδαιμονίας τἀνδρὶ περιῆν διὰ σοῦ; ἣν οὖν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ βασιλέως πρόνοια διὰ σοῦ διαβαίη καὶ παρὰ φάτνην σταῖμεν βασίλειον, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν λόγιον Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοιμεν καὶ χορὸν αὐτῷ συνισταίημεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω μὲν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις θητεύουσιν, ἐρρόντων λόγοι, Μοῦσαί τε

16-17 μακαρίαν κενήν: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20 || **19-23** καὶ μὴν Ὑαλέας – περιῆν διὰ σοῦ: cf. supra ep. 74, 21-24

5 πάτερος LPdTheil || **21** συχνὸν LPdTheil || μὲν (pro μὴν) LPdTheil

harsh penalty the father Zeus imposed upon him. Banqueting together with the gods, judged worthy of sharing a common table as equal and being initiated in their mysteries, he then descended from there and living together with the people on earth, transmitted what he had seen and heard with a loose tongue. But I do not know why on earth, although my tongue is restrained and praises highly the Emperor and the wise men, I pay a penalty similar to that of Tantalos; I live among the rich and yet I am besieged by poverty and assailed by cruel, city-destroying privation, and yet these wise men were in a position to persuade the Emperor – not to say themselves – to grant a benefit to me.

Furthermore, many pretend to love me, but they actually contrive to injure me secretly, and they consider me fortunate and pronounce my empty happiness blessed, saying that the Emperor and the magistrates have made me wealthy, but I deplore my situation when I think of my bad luck. Yet, when that person Hyaleas was teaching he was sustained by the imperial treasury, receiving gold regularly up to the time of his death. And Chalkomatopoulos likewise – but there is no need to mention the wealth he received on account of you. If the Emperor's care could also be passed to me through your intervention and we could stand before the imperial manger, then it would be possible both to serve as a teacher in the school and to gather students. Otherwise, to hell with the young students, to hell with the discourses, the Muses and the school. It is possible to live

καὶ σχολή. ἔστι καὶ παρὰ βαναύσοις βιῶναι· ἐκείνου γενοίμην τοῦ κόμματος, καὶ γενοίμην ἴσως εὐδαιμονέστερος.

<οη'>

οζ' **Λουκίτῃ φοιτητῇ πρωτονοταρίῳ καὶ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων**

Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἀνέγνως τὸν Μακεδόνα, σοφὴ κεφαλή, πραγμάτων καὶ πυσμάτων διαιτητὴν περιδέξιον· Φιλίππου γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐρομένου ὁπότερον ἀμφοῖν πλέον φιλεῖν, τὸν παιδευτὴν ἢ τὸν πατέρα, οἷον ἀπεκρίνατο; τὸν παιδευτήν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπήνεγκεν, εἰπὼν τὸν πατέρα μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι, τὸν παιδευτὴν δ' εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι παραγαγεῖν, δοὺς τὸ πλέον τῷ παιδευτῇ καὶ διελὼν ἀριστίνδην ἀρρεπὴς κατέστη διαιτητής. σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ πικρὸν ἐρεῖν, συνδιέστησας τῷ τόπῳ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοῦ μνήμονος ἡμᾶς ἐξωστράκισας· εἰπὲ γάρ, πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τί τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων ἡμῖν τοσοῦτον ἐφθόνησας, καὶ ταῦτα πλέον ἐφιεμένοις ἀκηκοέναι ἤπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τῆς τῶν Σειρήνων λιγυρᾶς ἐμμελείας; ἐρεῖς, τῷ μὴ λόγων εὐπορεῖν μήτ' οὖν δεξιῶς ἔχειν φύσεως ἐπιστέλλειν, ἅτε δὴ συνὼν ἀνδράσιν οὐχ Ἕλλησιν οὐδ' ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχουσιν

78. **3** cf. adn. ad ep. 38, 19-23 || **10** σὺ δ', εἰ – γνώμην: Synes. ep. 138 (241, 11-12 Garzya) αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, συνδιέστησας τῷ τόπῳ τὴν γνώμην

6-7 πάτερα LPdTheil || **15** ἐπιστελλεῖν LPdTheil

the life of a labourer. I will join that class and perhaps I may become happier.

78. To the student Loukites, Protonotarios and Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

You have read, my wise head, that Alexander the Macedonian was an expert arbiter in settling matters and in answering questions. When his father Philip asked him which of the two he loved more, his teacher or his father, what did he answer? The teacher. Upon this he brought forth an explanation for his answer, saying that his father had given him life, but his teacher assured him a noble life, thereby offering a greater share to the teacher and by making a perfect distinction he proved an objective arbiter. But you, "you seem to me to have changed your character along with your abode" thus erasing us from your memory. Because, tell us, for God's sake, why do you have such a grudge against us so as to withhold your letters, although we have the desire to listen to them even more than Ulysses heard the sweet melodies of the Sirens. You will perhaps say that you do not have a lot to say, and that you are not practiced in letter writing, being together with non-Greeks, people who have no share of Greek learning or, if this is not the reason, that you have

p. 156

ἤ, κἂν μὴ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πολλοῖς πραγμάτων περιστοιχίζεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐγώ σοι μάρτυς, εὐπορεῖν μὲν τοῦ προτέρου | – ἔνι γάρ, ἔνι σοι καὶ λέγειν φύσις καὶ γράφειν –, περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου δ' ἂν εἰδείης αὐτός.

Ἀλλ' ἤνπερ ἦν βουλομένῳ σοι, καὶ πραγμάτων σαυτὸν καὶ καιροῦ κεκλοφὼς ἐχαρίσω καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ μικρὰ καὶ τῷ παιδευτῇ· νυνὶ δέ, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ἔχεις Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν καὶ πειρᾷ συμφέροντι πλάσματι περιχρωννύειν τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ὑπὸ σκηνικῷ προσωπείῳ καλύπτειν. οὐ λήθεις, ὦ γενναῖε, οὐδὲ πείσεις, οὐδ' ἢν πείσῃς· ἐπεὶ πῶς τοῖς Λουκίταις ἐπιστέλλεις καὶ προσφθέγγῃ μακρά, πῶς τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν ἑταίρων τε καὶ συνήθων, ἐμὲ δ' ἐᾷς ἧσθαι δευόμενον καὶ περιορᾷς οἷον ἀγέραστον;

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδάν τινες Τραπεζουντόθεν ἀφίκωνται, τρόπον τοῦτον ἡμέτερον πυνθανόμεθα καί, ὅ φασιν, ἄστρασιν οὐ γράμμασι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς σημαινόμεθα· καί γε, μανθάνοντες

23-24 Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν: Diogen. 7, 47 (CPG I 294); Apostol. 14, 8 (CPG II 606); Karathanasis 29-30 | Salzmann 14 || **26** οὐ λήθεις: cf. Hom. Il. 24, 562 οὐδέ με λήθεις || **26** οὐδὲ πείσεις – πείσῃς: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 600 || **28-29** ἐμὲ – δευόμενον: cf. Hom. Il. 1, 134 αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὔτως ἧσθαι δευόμενον || **31-32** ἄστρασιν – σημαινόμεθα: cf. Synes. ep. 7 (28, 6 Garzya) ἄστροις τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς σημαίνεσθαι; Apostol. 4, 12 (CPG II 312); Karathanasis 92 | Salzmann 88

23 καὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας LPdTheil || **25** τὸν (pro τὸ) LPdTheil

been besieged by many concerns? But I can testify that in the first instance you are a practiced letter writer – because you are by nature capable both to speak and write – regarding the second, you would know better yourself.

But if you wanted it you would have stolen some time from your affairs and given a little to friendship to your teacher as well. But now as the proverb says you have as a pretext Patroklos and you try through a suitable fiction to paint the face of truth and hide it behind a theatrical mask. You do not escape from me, my good fellow, you will not convince me, even if you convince me. Because how do you write to the Loukites clan, addressing them long letters, and do the same with the rest of your comrades and friends, "yet you have me abide thus in want"[33] and overlook me, leaving me without a gift of honour.

But when some arrive here from Trebizond, we ask them in our own way about you and, as they say, we learn of your affairs from the stars and not from letters. And surely, upon receiving good news, we leap with joy and clapping our hands in applause

33. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 13.

λῴονα, μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ κρότου σκιρτῶμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων δρῶμεν, πηδῶντες, βοῶντες, ἐνθουσιῶντες, ἐκεῖν' ἀκούοντες, ἅττ' ἦμεν εὐχόμενοι, ὁπότε χερσὶν ἐμαῖς ἐμαῖς τε παιδείαις ηὔξου τρεφόμενος, παραμείψας μὲν τὸν παῖδα, παραγγείλας δ' ἐς μειράκια, καὶ ἀγωγὴν ἦγου τὴν κρείττω. νῦν δὲ φροῦδα ταῦτα παρὰ σοί.

Ἢν μὲν οὖν λήθη τῆς μνήμης κατεξωρχήσατο, πιέτω πόμα λήθη τὸ λήθαιον, μᾶλλον δὲ κώνειον· σὺ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ δείξεις ὑπ' ἐκείνης ὢν τυραννούμενος. ἐπειδὰν καὶ γράμμασί με δωρήσῃ καὶ δώροις – παιδὸς γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦντος καὶ τὸν πατέρα δεῖ συνευδαιμονεῖν κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν –, ἐσθῆτα πηνοϋφῆ πεπομφώς, ἣν καμχᾶν ἡ Περσῶν φησι γλῶττα, δράσων, εὖ ἴσθι, οὐ δίπλακα μὲν οὐδὲ μαρμαρέην, οἵαν Ἑλένη ἐξύφαινεν, ἀλλ' ἠεροειδῆ καὶ ποικίλην. ἐγὼ δ' ἀντὶ ταύτης ἐξ εὐχῶν σοι καινὸν ἄμφιον ὑφανῶ.

Ἐρρωμένος εὐδαιμονοίης, πολλαῖς ἡλίων περιδρομαῖς θεόθεν φρουρούμενος.

33-34 τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων – βοῶντες: cf. Lib. ep. 9, 1 (XI p. 570, 2-3 Foerster) ὧν οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐκ ἐπήδα τε καὶ ἐβόα καὶ πάντα ἔδρα τὰ τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων || **38** φροῦδα – παρά σοί: cf. Eur. Herc. 480; Mich. Chon. Ep. 21 (Kolovou 29, 68) μὴ γένωνται φροῦδα καὶ ταῦτα || **39-40** πιέτω – λήθαιον: cf. Mich. Ital. ep. 25, (178, 16-17 Gautier) τὸ λήθαιον ἴσως ἐκχέει σοι πόμα || **43-44** ἀντιπελάργωσιν: cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7 || **45-46** οὐ δίπλακα – ἐξύφαινεν: cf. Hom. Il. 3, 125 sq. ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε, δίπλακα πορφυρέην

43 πάτερα LPdTheil

and in great astonishment we jump and shout, ecstatic at what we hear and for which we had prayed when you came into my hands and grew up as my pupil, after you had passed your childhood and had become a youth introduced to more advanced lessons. But for you all these have vanished.

If forgetfulness has taken hold of your memory, let forgetfulness drink a potion that causes forgetfulness or rather, let it drink hemlock; anyway, you shall show in the future that you were under her sway in the past, when you shall send me letters and gifts – because when a child prospers the father must also prosper according to the celebrated "antipelargosis" – sending a dress woven on the loom, which is called in the Persian language kamcha – making a gift, you should know that you will benefit me – not of a double fold or glittering one such as Hellen had woven, but a dark one of many colors. In return for your gift, I shall weave a new vestment for you of prayers.

May you prosper in good health, remaining under God's protection during the many cycles of the sun yet to come.

οη′

<οθ′>
Μανουὴλ Κριτῇ

Ὡς μήτ' ὀφειλή τις ἐν ἀνθρώποις μήτε μὴν ἀπαίτησις ἦν, εἴπερ ἄμφω κακώ, ἤστην δ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κρατούσης
p. 157 ἰσότητος. νυνὶ δέ, τυραννοῦντος τοῦ βίου, μᾶλλον δ' | ἡμῶν ἑαυτούς, μοχθηρία κρατεῖ τὰ χείρω. δεῖ δ' ἄρα κρατήσειν ποτὲ καὶ τὰ λῴονα, εἴπερ ἂν βουλοίμεθα, οὐδὲν δ' ἄρα λῷον ἰσότητος, ἣ λύειν οἶδε διαφοράς.

Τοιγαροῦν ἀμφοῖν μέσος ἑστώς, ἀπαιτήσει καὶ ἀποτίσει, πέραινε θᾶττον, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀνύσας, καὶ λῦε διαφορᾶς συμπλοκάς, στάθμη τις εὐθύτητος προβληθεὶς καὶ κανὼν ἀκριβὴς τῆς ἰσότητος.

οθ′

<π′>
Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ κοιτῶνος

Οὔτε σμικρὸς σπινθὴρ περιφανῆ πυρσὸν ἐξανάψειε, μὴ παρόντος σκαλεύοντος, οὔτ' οὖν ἄνθρωπος ὀνήσειεν ἄνθρωπον, μηδενὸς κινοῦντος πρὸς ὄνησιν. ἣν οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ, πῶς ἂν βασιλεὺς κινηθείη πολύφροντις καὶ μυρίοις περιστοιχιζόμενος πράγμασιν, εἰ μή τις τῆς τε βασιλέως ψυχῆς τῆς θ' ἑαυτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ δεομένου φροντίσειεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁ τηλικοῦτος οὐρανὸς ὀξυτάτην κίνησιν κινηθείη, μὴ κινοῦντος ἄξονος.

---

79. 9 λῦε ex λύε corr P

79. To Manuel the Krites

If really debts and demands had not existed among people, which, indeed, are both evil, and if they both had disappeared from life, equality would have prevailed. But now as life has become tyrannical and we rather tyrannize ourselves wickedness prevails for the worse. But at some time or other the good must take over, if we want, because nothing is better than equality, which knows how to resolve the differences.

But since you have taken a middle position between the two, demand and compensation, bring the issue to an end quickly, fulfilling your promise, and resolve the conflict of interest, proving yourself to be a rule of righteousness and an exact standard of equality.

80. To the Prokathemenos of the Koiton

Neither would a small spark light a bright torch if there were not at hand someone to kindle it, nor would a man benefit another if there were no one to motivate him for beneficence . If then this is the case, how could the Emperor be motivated to act, being occupied by so many cares and surrounded by a myriad of problems, if someone would not take thought of the Emperor's soul and of his own also, and in addition the care of the suppliant? Because not even so great a heaven could rotate with speed, if its axis is not turned.

Γενοῦ μοι τοιγαροῦν ἔμψυχος ἄξων, ζῶντα κινῶν οὐρανὸν καὶ κινούμενον οἴκοθεν, βασιλέα λέγω, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τρέχειν ὁδὸν ἀγαλλιώμενον. εἴη δ' ἂν βασιλέως ὁδὸς εὐεργεσία, ὥσπερ ἡλίου φωτοχυσία. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς Ἄτλας ἄλλος τὸν οὐρανόν, τῆς βασιλικῆς εὐεργεσίας βαστάσω τὸν φόρτον.

π′

<πα′>
Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Εὐριπίδης ὁ τραγικὸς δίκαιον εἶναι φησὶ πολλῶν σαφῆ φίλον πρίασθαι χρημάτων, πρίαιτο δ' ἂν τοιοῦτον, ὅστις οἷόν τι τὸ μέγα χρῆμα σύνοιδε τῆς φιλίας. ἐγὼ δέ, δυναμένοις μέγα χρώμενος φίλοις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως οὖσιν ἀξιωμάτων καί με πλουτίζειν ῥᾳόνως πως, εἰ μόνον βούλοιντ' ἄν, ἔχουσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ τρόπῳ μήτε τῶν πρὸς βασιλέως μήτε τῶν οἴκοι σιτίζειν αἱροῦνται.

Καὶ μὴν ὅτων ὑπ' ἐμοὶ καθηγητῇ παῖδες φοιτῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον εἶεν ἂν δίκαιοι τὴν ἴσην τοῖς υἱέσι πρόνοιαν κἀπ' ἐμοὶ προνοεῖν, καίτοι δέον μείζω τε καὶ κρείττω, ὃ δὴ ποιοῦσι πα-

80. 10 ἔμψυχος ἄξων: cf. Mich. Chon. Monod. ad Nic. Chon. (I, 350, 9 Lampros) καὶ κύρβις ἀποτελεῖται νομοθεσίας ζῶσα καὶ ἄξων ἔμψυχος

81. 2-3 πολλῶν – χρημάτων cf. Eur. fr. 934 (933 Kannicht) νοῦν ἔχοντος <ἦν ἄρα> φίλον πρίασθαι χρημάτων πολλῶν σαφῆ; Lib. ep. 571,3 (X, 537, 7-8 Foerster)

11-12 πάτερες LPdTheil

Become then to me a living axis and help the living heaven, I mean the Emperor, to revolve and rotate by himself so as to run his course rejoicing. And may the course taken by the Emperor be that of benevolence, just as the sun's is the shedding of light. As for myself, like another Atlas I shall raise the heavens, the weight of the imperial benefaction.

81. To the Grand Logothete

The tragic poet Euripides says that it is just to buy a true friend for much money and he would have bought one who knew the great meaning of friendship. I have friends who are very powerful and who possess high offices conferred by the Emperor and they could somehow easily enrich me if only wished it, but I do not know for what reason they choose not to support me either from the imperial treasury or with their own means.

And indeed, it is only fair that the parents whose children study under my guidance should take thought of me in the same way they take care of their sons, although they should show an

τέρες περὶ τὰ τέκνα χρηστοί, διὰ τῆς χρηστῆς διαίτης τῶν τιθηνῶν τῶν βρεφῶν προνοούμενοι. ἦν τοῦτο κἀν Μουσείοις κρατοῦν ἦν, τάχ' ἂν ἡ περὶ τοὺς παιδευτὰς πρόνοια πρὸς τοὺς παιδευομένους διέβαινεν· οἱ δ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι μαθόντες, φείδονται μὲν τῶν οἰκείων, φείδονται δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν βασι-
p. 158 λέως, | αὐτοὶ τἀπιδήμια πίνοντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν μεταβάλοιεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴκοι μενῶ, οἱ φοιτηταὶ δὲ παιζόντων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς.

πα′

<πβ′>
Τῷ προκαθημένῳ τοῦ βεστιαρίου

Μετὰ θάρρους τε καὶ δέους ἥκει τὰ γράμματα, ἐκεῖνο μὲν διὰ τὸν ἀκραιφνῆ Φίλιον, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ περὶ τῷ φόρτῳ δεδιέναι. ἃ δ' οὖν ἐρεῖ, χρόνος, ὃς παρῴχηκε χθές, κενοὺς ἡμᾶς παρεικώς, κενοὺς τῷ νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ὥσπερ τις ἡγεμὼν δεσμώτας τῷ δεσμοφύλακι. οὐκοῦν πανταχόθεν δεδέμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ φρουρίῳ καθείργμεθα. ποῦ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν σιτία, ποῦ χρυσία, ποῦ δὲ ἀργύρια, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν βιοῖμεν; ἓν μόνον τρέφον, ἐλπίς, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὕτη τοῦ πίθου ἐκπτᾶσα παρῴχηκεν. εἰ δ' ἴσως

12 τέχνα LPdTheil || 13 προνούμενοι P || 17 τὰ 'πιδήμια P || τὰ 'πι δήμια LPdTheil

82. 2-3 διὰ τὸν ἀκραιφνῆ Φίλιον: cf. adn. ad ep. 12, 11 || 9 τοῦ πίθου – παρῴχηκεν: cf. Hesiod. Op. 969 sq.

9 αὐτὴ LPdTheil

even greater and better concern, just as good fathers do their best for their children, securing a good life for the nurses of their new-borns. If this practice would have been introduced to schools, perhaps the concern for the teachers would also benefit the students. But they, I do not know what moved them, are frugal with their own money, but no less they are frugal with the Emperor's, though they spend it drinking in festivities. If then they would change – otherwise, I shall stay at home and the students can go play at the market place.

82. To the Prokathemenos of the Vestiarion

My letters come to you both with confidence and fear, the first on account of my friendship to you, the other because I am afraid of becoming a burden. What the letters have to say is that the year, which yesterday ended, left me empty, and empty now has delivered me just as a commander delivers the prisoners to a gaoler. I am therefore bound from every side, shut in a secure prison. Where are food, gold, silver so that we may survive? Only one thing – hope – sustains me, unless she flew out of the vessel

ἔνδον, ἔργον σὸν δείξειν, ὃς πείσεις μὲν βασιλέα, πείσεις δὲ σεαυτόν, τοῦ παρόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ εὐλογημένον προβῆναι τὸν στέφανον.

πβ′

<πγ′>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἀριθμὸς ὁ τέσσαρα, βασιλεῦ, ἔστι μὲν ἐπίπεδος, γίνεται δὲ καὶ στερρός, ἐπειδὰν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν πολυπλασιασθεὶς γεννήσῃ τὸν δεκαέξ. καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐκ τεσσάρων ὁ Θεὸς συναρμολογήσας ὑπέστησε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκ χυμῶν τεσσάρων συνέστησεν. ἀναλόγως οὖν καὶ τὸ σὸν κράτος οὐ πλείω τεσσάρων γενημάτων ῥοιᾶς πεπομφέναι προστέταχεν, ἵν᾽ εἶεν εὐρωστίας αἴσια σύμβολα, συγκεχραμένων τῶν χυμῶν πρὸς ἐξίσωσιν. οὗ δ᾽ ἐξίσωσις, εὐρωστία, εὐρωστίᾳ δὲ βίου μακρότης. αὕτη δὲ κρατοῦσα τῶν τεσσάρων κόσμου κλιμάτων ἀναφήνειεν αὐτοκράτορα.

11-12 ἐνιαυτοῦ – στέφανον: cf. Ps. 64:12 εὐλογήσεις τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου; Athanasius, Exposit. in Psalm. (PG 27: 285)

83. **1** ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 75

and went away. If she is perhaps still inside, it is your task to prove it, by persuading the Emperor and by persuading also yourself, so that the new year may be crowned with bounty.

83. To the Emperor

The number four, my Emperor, is a square number, but it becomes also solid representing four surfaces, and when it is multiplied by itself it produces the number sixteen. And God created everything by bringing together four elements and the human body he brought into being from four elements. In proportion your majesty ordered me to send no more than four pieces of the fruit of the pomegranate so that they may be regarded as auspicious symbols of strength, their humors being blended in equal measure. Where there is equal measure, there is also strength, and through strength a long life. May you live long and be declared Emperor of the four regions of the world.

<πδ'>
πγ'
Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐμοί, καὶ ζῶντι καὶ θανατῶντι πεινῶντί τε καὶ διψῶντι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἀνθρώπινον πάσχοντι, μία λύσις τῶν δυσχερῶν, μία μετὰ Θεὸν προσφυγή, ἡ πρὸς τὸ σὸν κράτος ἐλπίς· οὕτως ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχή μου ὀπίσω σου. μὴ γοῦν καταισχυνθείην ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου, ἀλλ' ἀντιλάβοιτό μου ἡ δεξιά σου.

<πε'>
πδ'
Λουκίτῃ φοιτητῇ πρωτοβεστιαρίῳ Τραπεζουντίων

Ἧκεν ἡμῖν γράμματα, τοῦ καλοῦ πεπομφότος πρωτοβε-
στιαρίου, καὶ πάλιν ἧσε, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν λύπαις εὑρόντα, καὶ πα-
p. 159 ραμυθία γεγόνασι συμφορῶν· κἀκείνας μὲν ἀπῶσε καὶ
ἀπερράπισεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀνεκούφισε καὶ ἀνέρρωσεν, οὕτω μὲν
ἡδέα τυγχάνοντα, οὕτω δ' εὐαγγελιζόμενα λῷονα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ
γράφοις τοιαῦτα καὶ συχνῶς ἥδων εἴης καὶ κουφίζων τὰ λυ-
πηρά· ἐγὼ δ', ἐνατενίζων τοῖς γράμμασιν, αὐτὸν σὲ βλέπειν
ἡγοίμην καὶ τῆς μελιχρᾶς σῆς ἐμφορεῖσθαι σειρῆνος καὶ τῶν
ἐμμελῶν ἀκροᾶσθαι φθόγγων τῆς θαυμασίας ἠχοῦς.

---

84. **5-6** ἐκολλήθη – ἡ δεξιά σου: cf. Ps. 62:9 ἐκολλήθη ἡ ψυχή μου ὀπίσω σου, ἐμοῦ ἀντελάβετο ἡ δεξιά σου

---

85. **8** ἐνατενίζων τοῖς γράμμασιν: cf. Mich. Chon. ep. 44 (59, 11 Kolovou) διὰ γραμμάτων ἐνατενίζειν

84. To the same

For me, while alive or dead, hungry or thirsty or suffering what the whole lot of humans endure, there is one solution from these adversities, only one other refuge after God, the hope in your authority; thus "my soul clings to thee". May I not be put to shame in my expectations, but may your right hand give me support.

85. To the student Loukites, the Protovestiarios of the Trapezuntines

The letters sent by the noble Protovestiarios came to us and although they found us in sorrow they gratified us once again, becoming a consolation in our misfortune in that they set aside and silenced our sorrow, and by being so pleasant and promising the best they relieved and strengthened us afresh. I wish you would continue writing such letters, pleasing us time and again and alleviating our sorrow. Contemplating your letters, I believed that I was seeing you in person and enjoying the charm of your eloquence and listening to the sound of your harmonious and wonderful voice.

Ἠβουλόμην μὲν μηκύναι τὸ βραχυεπὲς ἐπιστόλιον, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς συγχεῖται ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ νάρκης πάσχει πάθος ἡ γλῶττα. σὺ δὲ μὴ δυσχερὲς ἡγήσαιο τοῦτο· οἶσθα γάρ, σοφὴ κεφαλή, ὡς ἐν καιροῖς συμφορῶν καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων ἐπίπροσθεν· ψυχαὶ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσὶν οἱ καιροί. ἀλλ' ἴδοιμί σε καὶ αὐτοψεί, Θεοῦ δικαιώσαντος, καὶ κοινὴν ἑορτὴν ἑορτάσαιμεν.

Ἐρρωμένος εἴης, εὐδαιμονῶν, ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν προβαίνων κἀμοῦ μεμνημένος καὶ προμηθούμενος.

<πς'>

πε' **Τῷ κανικλείου**

Ὡς ἦσεν ἥκων ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ Ὑμήττιον μέλι, ὦ καὶ τοῦ Πυλίου Νέστορος μελιχρότερε,

τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης γλυκίων μέλιτος ῥέεν αὐδή·

ἐξύφανται γὰρ μετὰ Καλλιόπης καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλωνός τε τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ λογίου Ἑρμοῦ. ἀναγνωσθεὶς δὲ πολλάκις καὶ Σειρήνων ἐμμελῶν ἐμμελέστερος ἔδοξεν. ἀμέλει καί, οὓς ἐραστὰς λόγων ᾔδειν σοφῶν καὶ γενναίων

15 ψυχαὶ – καιροί: Nic. Chon. ep. 11 (216, 5 van Dieten); Jo. Apocaucus ep. 94 (146, 9 Bees); Apostol. 9, 42 (CPG II 471) καιρὸς ψυχὴ πράγματος || **18** ἀπὸ δόξης – δόξαν: cf. II Cor. 3: 18 μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν

86. **4** τοῦ καὶ – αὐδή: cf. adn. ad ep. 15, 23

I wanted to extend this brief letter, but my mind is confused by my adversities and my tongue is paralyzed. But do not consider this a grievance; because you know, my wise friend, that in times of suffering short letters are preferred to long ones. Besides, the souls of things are the circumstances. But may I see you with my own eyes, God willing, and we could then celebrate together.

May you enjoy good health and prosperity, climbing from glory to glory, remembering me and taking caring care of me.

86. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

Your discourse when it came from you – who are with honeyed sweetness more than the Pelian Nestor, "he from whose tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey",[34] pleased me more than the honey of Hymettos, because it was woven with the help of Calliope and the Muses and the musician Apollo and the Logios Hermes. It was read many times and seemed more harmonious than the melodious Sirens. Be that as it may, I shared it with those that I knew were lovers of wise discourses and encomiasts of no-

34. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 21.

ἐπαινέτας, ἐκοινωσάμην· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιόντες ὑπερηγάσαντό τε καὶ ὑπερήσθησαν. ἥκει τοίνυν παῖς ὁ καλὸς παρὰ πατέρα τὸν κάλλιστον· καὶ βιῴη μὲν ὁ πατήρ, γεννῴη δὲ παῖδας ὡραίων ὡραιοτέρους καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας εὐφραίνοντας.

<πζ′>

πς′

Βασιλείῳ υἱῷ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέος

Οἷα μὲν δῶρα παιδείας, οἷα δ᾽ ἔργα φιλίας καί, τό γε κρεῖττον, ἀρρεποῦς γνώμης περὶ τὸ λῷον κατάστασις, ἃ δαιμονίως τῇ σῇ ψυχῇ παραπέφυκε. καὶ μήν, τῆς παροιμίας παρεγγυωμένης διπλᾶ τὰ καλά, πολλαπλᾶ φύσις ἡ σὴ προσεξεύρηκε, τοῦ περὶ πάντα σχεδὸν σχολάζοντος τὰ καλὰ καὶ καλοῖς ἐντεθραμμένου πλεονεκτήμασιν, ὥσθ᾽ ὑπερελάσαι μὲν Κλεάνθην,
p. 160 παρελθεῖν δὲ τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα. |

10 πάτερα LPdTheil || 12 εὐφραίνουντας LPdTheil

87. 5 διπλᾶ τὰ καλά: Plat. Leg. I, 631b διπλᾶ δὲ ἀγαθά ἐστιν, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα; Theod. Dexius ep. 1 (191, 63 Polemis) || 7-8 Κλεάνθην: cf. Diog. Laert. Vit. soph. VII, 170,1 ὅθεν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο || 8 τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα: cf. Anacreon fr. 27,2; 43,5; Lib. ep. 224, 1 (X 207,14-15 Foerster) ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρελθεῖν Ἀρτέμωνα; App. prov. 4,32 (CPG I 441) ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων; Salzmann 31

87. 1 κυρίου LPdTheil || 7 ἐντετραμμένου LPdTheil

bles; and reading it they were exceedingly pleased and gratified. Well then, your splendid child returns to its excellent father; and may the father live long and beget beautiful children (or rather more than beautiful) becoming a joy to the beholder.

87. To Basileios, the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys

What gifts of learning, what works of friendship and, the most of all, what a steadfast opinion about goodness have been implanted miraculously in your soul! And indeed, the proverb promises that "double are the good things", but your nature has provided you with even more: to be almost constantly concerned with good things, having been brought up with the best qualities, so that you can surpass Kleanthes and even be superior to the proverbial Artemon.

Ἔφησθα πενίας μὲν ᾑρῆσθαι δεσμὰ λελυκέναι μοι, δεδυνῆσθαι δὲ μή· καὶ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Δάφνης ἐραστής, παράδειγμα, διώκων μέν, οὐχ αἱρῶν δὲ τὴν κόρην, ἐραστῇ συλληφθῆναι τὴν παῖδα τῆς μητρὸς ἀκολάστῳ μὴ συγχωρούσης. εἶτα καὶ δεύτερον ἦγες παράδειγμα, τὸν Μυκήνηθεν μὲν προελθόντα, Μυκήνησι δὲ κρατοῦντα μὴ χάριν εἰδέναι Πατρόκλῳ, θερμοῖς δάκρυσι τὸν Πηλέως περιαντλοῦντι ἀποθέμενον τὴν μῆνιν πόλεμόνδ' ἐξιέναι, νηλεὲς ἦμαρ ἀμυνοῦντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν – ἐλέαιρε γὰρ τειρομένους –, μὴ δυνηθέντι δὲ πεῖσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα. καὶ μὴν Πάτροκλος ἣν ἔλαχε Σπάρταν ἐκόσμει, Ἀχιλλεὺς δ', ὃν πέττων θυμόν, πεττεύειν καὶ φορμίζειν ᾑρεῖτο μᾶλλον ἢ μαίνεσθαι πρὸς ὅπλα καὶ δόρυ· οὕτως ἦν ἄτεγκτος, σχεδὸν Ἀΐδης ἀμείλιχος ἠδ' ἀδάμαστος.

Ἀλλ', ὅπερ εἰρήσεταί μοι, σοφὴ κεφαλή, οὐ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δοῦναι, τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη μὴ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδὲν ᾑρῆσθαι δυνάμενον. τό γε μὴν ᾑρῆσθαι, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, κρίνοιτ' ἂν δύνασθαι, ἐπεί τοι δυνάμεως κρεῖττον προαίρεσις· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ παρὰ μόνῃ χειρὶ δόσις, ὅτι μὴ καὶ προθέσει μᾶλλον ὁρίζεται. παρὰ σοὶ δ' ἀμφότερον, τὸ μὲν κινοῦντι σαυτόν, τὸ δὲ τὸν κοινὸν πατριάρχην, καὶ τροφὴν ὁποτέραν βούλει παρέχοντα. τοιαύτην ἡμῖν θαυμασίαν ἐξεῦρες ἀντιπελάργωσιν,

16 νηλεὲς – ἀμυνοῦντα: cf. Hom. Il. 11, 484 ἀμύνετο νηλεὲς ἦμαρ || **17** ἐλέαιρε – τειρομένους: Hom. 9, 302 || **18-19** ἔλαχε – ἐκόσμει: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 25-26 || **21** Ἀΐδης – ἀδάμαστος: Hom. Il. 9, 158 || **29** ἀντιπελάργωσιν: 25 cf. adn. ad ep. 10, 6-7

18 σπάρταν ex σπάρτον corr P

You said that you have opted to free me from the bonds of poverty but you have not been able to do it. And you brought up the example of Apollo, the lover of Daphne, who pursued the girl but could not catch her, because her mother did not allow the girl to be caught by a licentious lover. Then you brought up a second example, about the one originating from Mycenae, who ruled among the Mycenaeans and was not grateful to Patroklos, who shed warm tears upon the son of Peleus to put aside his wrath and go out to fight and "ward off the pitiless day of doom"[35] – for he took pity on them seeing them distressed – but who nevertheless could not persuade Achilles. And Patroklos "adorned the Sparta which fate had given him", but Achilles brooding in anger, chose to play draughts and play the lyre rather than to be furiously occupied with his weapons and spear. In this way he was not to be softened, almost a "Hades not to be soothed, neither overcome".[36]

But I shall say, my wise friend, that not to give, is not the same as not to be able to give, but not to want at all to give. Because to want to but not be able to could mean to be able, for greater than the power is the motivation. Giving is not even defined as an act of hand alone, but rather as an act of intention. Both of these are applied to you, the one to motivate yourself and the other our common patriarch who can provide any kind food he wishes. You have sought out for us, such a wonderful return of benefits (*antipelargosis*) so that the old man gets now

35. *Ibid.*, I, 517.
36. *Ibid.*, I, 393.

ὥστε παρεσκευακέναι θᾶττον ἀνηβηκέναι τὸν γέροντα, οὐχ ἀποδράντα πῦρ καὶ λέβητα κατὰ Πέλοπα, ὅς, δαιτρευθείς τε καὶ βρασθείς, θοίνη παρετέθη θεοῖς, εἶτ' ἀναβρασθεὶς ἀνεβίω καὶ πρὸς ἥβην τὴν προτέραν ἀνέδραμεν.

Ἐπάνειμι δὴ παρὰ τὴν Δάφνην αὖθίς γε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, οὐχ ὅπερ Ἀχιλλεὺς κραδαίνων ἐθάμβει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅπερ θήγει λόγος πνευματικὸς καὶ Θεοῦ στιλβῶν δάκτυλος βεβήλους ἀμυήτους δορύσσει, τετελεσμένους καὶ θεῖα περιέπων μεμυημένους· οὐδὲ Δάφνην, ἣν σείων ὁ Πύθιος Δωδωναίας δρυὸς ἐληρῴδει χρηστήρια, ἀλλ' ἣ ποιητήν ποτε δαφνηφάγον ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ περιέστεψε. τοιοῦτον ἐγώ σοι δόρυ, τοιαύτην
p. 161 Δάφνην | εὐξαίμην. σὺ δέ μοι τὰ τῶν χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων πτερὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀέρα συγχωρήσαις ἐκπέτεσθαι· δέος γάρ, δέος μή, τῶν λογικῶν ἀτράκτων ἀπτέρων ἀφιεμένων, πτερωτὰ βέλη πήξῃ σιτοδεία κατὰ χρωτός.

Περί γε μὴν τῆς σῆς ἀρίστης ἐκφράσεως ἀριστίνδην καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκα, Αἰακοῦ μὴ δεόμενος. ἐπιὼν οὖν πολ-

31 λέβητα κατὰ Πέλοπα: cf. Lib. ep. 695, 5 (XI p. 630, 15-16 Foerster) ὃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Πέλοπα πείθομαι γενέσθαι μετὰ τὸν λέβητα || **37** δορύσσει: cf. Eust. Comm. Il. N, 699, 7 (van der Valk) ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ δόρυ τὸ δορύσσειν || **39** ποιητήν – δαφνηφάγον: cf. Comm. in Dion. Thrac. 316, 4 (Hilgard) οὐκ ἂν γὰρ εἴη τις τέλειος ποιητής, εἰ μὴ ἱστορήσει καὶ διηγήσεται καὶ μαντεύσασθαι || **43** λογικῶν ἀτράκτων: cf. Origen. Expos. in Proverbia (PG 17:252) Ἄτρακτός ἐστι νοῦς καθαρός, συμπλέκων ἀρετὴν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ δόγματι δόγμα· ἢ λόγος προφορικός, ἕλκων ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ πνευματικὴν θεωρίαν

45 ἐκφάσεως LPdTheil || **46** ἐξήνεγκας P

ready quickly to become young again, but not running away like Pelops from fire and cauldron, who, having been cut to pieces and boiled was offered as a meal to the Gods and then being boiled a second time lived again and regained his former youth.

But I return to Daphne and to the spear again – not to that spear which Achilles brandished, filling his enemies with terror, but the one the spiritual word sharpens and the shining finger of God strikes with spear the profane and uninitiated, and yet protects the initiate and the instructed in divine matters. Nor (do I mean) that Daphne, which the Pythios (Apollo) shaking to and fro the oak tree at Dodona pronounced oracular nonsense, but that one which brought up and once crowned an inspired poet (Hesiod). Such a spear and such a Daphne would I wish for you. For my sake, do not allow the wings of my good hopes to fly in the air; because there is fear, fear lest that as my rational arrows are discharged without wings, the famine will lodge in my flesh winged arrows.

Regarding your excellent *ekphrasis* I gave my approval on its merits without the need of Aiakos. Reading it many times I was gratified and thought it worthy of greater applause; so that it

λάκις αὐτὴν ὑπερήσθην καὶ κρότων βελτιόνων ἠξίωσα· ὡς δ' ἂν εἰδεῖεν καὶ πλείους, πλείοσιν ἐκοινωσάμην, ἵν' ἐκ πλειόνων πλείους ἐρανίζοιντο κρότοι. καὶ λαμπρὰ μὲν ἐψήφιστο κύκνοις· κολοιῶν γὰρ νέφος ἀπῆν. γράφοις οὖν οὕτω καὶ τέρποις μὲν κύκνους, βάλλοις δὲ κολοιούς, αἴ κέν τοι φόως τοῖς τεθραμμένοις ἐν Ἑρμοῦ γένηαι.

πζ′

<πη'>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Ἔστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἓξ πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμός, ἔστι δὲ κἀν δεκάσιν ὁ εἰκοσιοκτὼ τέλειος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν προσφυῶς συντιθεμένων συμπεραινόμενος, ἔχων δέ τι καὶ μυστικὸν ἐνθεωρηθῆναί οἱ θεώρημα. τὸ πᾶν τόδ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἓξ ὑφέστηκε τῷ Θεῷ, ἑβδόμη δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τῆς εὐλογίας ἀπείληφεν. ὁ τοίνυν ἀριθμὸς οὗτος ἔστι τιμίου μὲν τιμιώτερος, σεπτοῦ δὲ σεπτότερος, ἅτε δὴ τὸν ἑπτὰ τετράκις ἐμπεριέχων, σεπτὸν καὶ τίμιον ὄντα καὶ τετράκις τὴν εὐλογίαν

50 κολοιῶν – νέφος: cf. Lib. ep. 1220 (301, 12 Foerster) ἦλθεν ἂν καὶ νέφος κολοιῶν || **51** κύκνους – κολοιούς: cf. Greg. Naz. ep. 114 (II 9, 6 Gallay) τότε ᾄσονται κύκνοι ὅταν κολοιοὶ σιωπήσωσιν || **51-52** αἴ κέν τοι φόως – γένηαι: Hom. Il. 8, 282

88. 1 ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 75 et 83

5 δ' (pro τόδ') LPdTheil

would be known by more people, I shared it with many, in order that it could receive greater applause from many more. And it was voted brilliantly by the swans, because the cloud of jackdaws was not present. May you continue then to write in this manner, delighting the swans and shooting the jackdaws, "if so be thou mayest prove a light of joy"[37] to the followers of Hermes.

88. To the Emperor

Among the single numbers, the first perfect number is six, and in the series of ten the perfect number is the twenty-eight, which is produced rightfully when added from the sum of its own parts, and which has in addition some mystical theoretical proposition in itself to be contemplated. This universe was created by God in six days and on the seventh it received the sign of His blessing. This number, twenty eight, is then more precious than precious, also more sacred than sacred, for it contains the number seven four times, which is also sacred and precious and has received the blessing four times. Therefore the four fruits of

37. *Ibid.*, I, 359.

ἀπειληφότα. συμβολικῶς οὖν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀπὸ ῥοιᾶς ὀπωρῶν τετράς, ἑπτάκις διαπεμφθεῖσα τῷ κράτει σου, τὸ τῶν εὐχῶν ᾐνίξατο τέλειον.

Ἔστι μοι δὴ καὶ λόγον ἐρεῖν ἕτερον. ἡ σοφία, οἶκον οἰκοδομήσασα ἑαυτῇ, μυστικῶν ἑπτάδα στύλων ὑπήρεισεν· οὗτος γὰρ ἀριθμῶν μυστικώτατος, τὸ τῆς τριάδος καὶ τετράδος, Θεοῦ λέγω καὶ κόσμου, σκιωδῶς δημιουργοῦ καὶ δημιουργήματος μυστήριον αἰνιττόμενος. ἐναργεῖς τῶν γνωμόνων εἰκόνες ἀναστηλωθείητέ μοι, θειότατοι βασιλεῖς, ἀπὸ τριάδος ἐπὶ τετράδα προβαίνοντες, ὡς ἂν συμβασιλεύοντες τέτταρες τετράκις τοῖς ἑπταρίθμοις ὑπερηρεισμένοι στύλοις τοῦ πνεύματος τέλειον ἔμπνουν ἀναστηλώσητέ μοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῇ παναλκεῖ Τριάδι φρουρούμενοι τὸ τετραμερὲς ἅρμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑφ' ἑνὶ τεθρίππῳ συζεύξαντες.

<πθ'>

p. 162 πη'

Τῷ βασιλεῖ |

Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης, εἴ τις ἄλλος, διδάσκαλος, τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου στόμα, ἡ τῶν θείων δογμάτων κρηπίς, «ἐλπίς», φησι, «βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς»· ἠνυ-

13-14 ἡ σοφία – ὑπήρεισεν: cf. Prov. 9: 1 Ἡ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον, καὶ ὑπήρεισε στύλους ἑπτά

14 στυλῶν LPdTheil || **20** στύλαις LPdTheil

89. 4 ἐλπὶς – ἐλπίς: Rom. 8: 24

pomegranate which I sent seven times to your majesty in a symbolic way signifies the perfection of blessing.

I have also another word to say. "Wisdom has built a house for herself, and set up seven sacred pillars". Among the numbers, seven is the most sacred, signifying, I will say, the Trinity of God and the four parts of the world, and also the mystery of the creator and His creation symbolically. May you be established in a manifest form, my most sacred Emperors as icons of moral standards, advancing from three to four, so that the four reigning together and being supported by the seven pillars of the gifts of the Holy Spirit four times, may bring to life the number four in a perfect manner, and being guarded by the all-powerful Trinity you shall have united the four-part chariot of the universe under the control of one four-horsed chariot.

89. To the Emperor

Paul, the great Apostle and teacher of the whole world – no man was greater – the mouthpiece of the Lord, the foundation of the divine dogmas, says "hope that is seen is not hope"; because

σται γάρ, ἠνυσμένη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος κατήργησεν. ἔγωγ' οὖν ὑπομονῆς ἱκανῶς ἔχω, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἣν ὤδινεν ἀγάπης ἔργα καὶ πίστεως· εἰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἐλπίς, ἣ καταισχύνειν οὐκ οἶδε, μηκέτ' εἴην ἔργον προσδοκωμένης ἐλπίδος ἀλλ' ἠνυσμένης.

πθ'

<ζ'>

Τῷ μεγάλῳ λογοθέτῃ

Ἐξ ὅτου πράγματος μετείληχέ τις εὐδαιμονίας δεῖ τιμᾶν τὸν εὐδαιμονίσαντα καὶ ταύτην εἰδέναι χάριν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῶν ὁμοίων δεομένους μὴ παρορᾶν, τῇ χρηστῇ δὲ συνιστᾶν δαίμονι· γίγνοιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τὸ συμφέρον ἀμφοῖν, τῷ τε διδόντι τῷ τε λαμβάνοντι. τίς οὖν ὁ λόγος; συνέστησαν σὲ μὲν Ἑρμῇ Μοῦσαι, Ἑρμῆς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ, βασιλεὺς δὲ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. φίλος ὢν Ἑρμῇ τε καὶ Μούσαις, Ἑρμῆς δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτόχρημα (δέω γὰρ φάναι Καλλιόπης καὶ Μουσῶν γέννημα καὶ τιθήνημα), ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμαϊκοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μουσικοὺς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τιθέμενος· λόγος γὰρ ἁπάντων κρατεῖ καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ λόγου τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲν ὃ γέγονε.

Τηλικούτου τοίνυν βασιλέως κρατοῦντος ἀνάγκη τοῦτον

7-8 ἣ – οἶδε: cf. Rom. 5: 5 ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς οὐ καταισχύνει

90. 9-10 γέννημα – τιθήνημα: cf. Ann. Comn. Alex. (I, 2, 5, 11 Reinsch – Kambylis) || **12-13** διὰ Θεοῦ – γέγονε: cf. Joh. 1: 3

hope is won, and being fulfilled has abolished any reliance to hope. But I have enough endurance, your majesty, which was borne out of works of love and faith. If then hope results from works, and hope does not disappoint us, may it no longer be a work of hope expected but of hope fulfilled.

90. To the Grand Logothete

Anyone who has attained good fortune must honour his benefactor and in the same way must feel grateful to him, as also those that plead to attain the same and not to be overlooked, but to be introduced to the good fortune. It would thus be advantageous for both, to the giver as well as to the recipient. What is then the talk about? The Muses introduced you to Hermes, Hermes then to the Emperor, the Emperor to good fortune, the Emperor being a friend to Hermes and the Muses, even more being a veritable Hermes himself – I dare say born and bred by Calliope and the Muses. For this reason he places intellectuals and men of letters above all others, because learning (logos) rules over all and "through the Word of God all things were made, and without him was not anything made that was made".

When an Emperor like him is reigning this must then be the

εἶναι τῆς εὐζωίας τὸν χρόνον, ὅν τις ὥρισε τῶν σοφῶν, ὁπότ' ἂν ἢ φιλοσοφήσωσι βασιλεῖς ἢ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσι. νῦν δ' ἄμφω, καὶ χρόνος ἄρ' οὗτος ὁ τῆς εὐζωίας κρατεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ σοῦ συνιστάναι δυναμένου βασιλεῖ φιλοσόφῳ τοὺς Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας· ὃν εἰ μὴ κινοίης ἂν σειρῆσι λόγων σῶν ἐμμελῶν, αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ταῦτα τυγχάνοντα, πάντως ἂν ἀδικοίης, ταὐτὸν δ' ἐρεῖν Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Μούσας, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτήν, ἣ παρὰ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκεῖ κεφαλῇ. ἣν εἰ νύξαις μόνον ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ βασιλέα πείσει, πατέρα τὸν σφέτερον, ἕνα με φῆναι τῶν εὐδαιμόνων θεραπόντων Ἑρμοῦ λογίου καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν.

<ζα'>
Τῷ κανικλείου

Ἀφιγμένον τὸν λόγον — ἐκέλευσας γάρ — ἀνέγνωμεν — μεθ' ὅσης οἴει σπουδῆς; — καὶ τεθήπαμεν· ὠφείλετο γὰρ τῇ τε τοῦ
p. 163 πεπομφότος προθέσει τῷ τε | κάλλει τοῦ λόγου καὶ ῥυθμῷ

15-16 τῆς εὐζωίας – βασιλεύσωσι: cf. Agap. Diac. Capit. admon. (36, 8-10 R. Riedinger) ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἀνεδείχθη τῆς εὐζωίας ὁ χρόνος, ὃν προεῖπέ τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἔσεσθαι, ὅταν ἢ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἢ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσιν || **16** ἢ φιλοσοφήσωσι – βασιλεύσωσι: cf. Plat. Resp. E' 473c ἢ οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ οἱ βασιλῆς τε νῦν λεγόμενοι καὶ δυνάσται φιλοσοφήσωσι || **23** ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ: cf. Zenob. 1, 61 (CPG I 24); Karathanasis 57-58

time of having a good life, which one of the philosophers defined as the period when the kings will become philosophers or the philosophers kings. Now we have both, good life prevails at this time, especially when you are in a position to introduce the servants of Hermes to a philosopher king. If you would not motivate him to this purpose with the eloquence of your harmonious speech, – actually he has no need to be motivated – you would certainly do an injustice, that is to say to Hermes and the Muses, even more to Athena herself, who abides by the head of the Emperor. If you would only point her with the tip of your finger, she cannot but persuade the Emperor, her own father, to declare me one of the fortunate servants of the Logios Hermes and the Muses.

91. To the epi tou Kanikleiou

When your discourse arrived – as you ordered – we read it, can you imagine how fast? – and were amazed. It was because of the sender's good intention, the grace of his language and rhythm,

καὶ συνθήκῃ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἦσε δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐμφερεῖς τὰς ἐκείνων φέρων εἰκόνας καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαραλλάκτους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ὡς ἀκηλίδωτον ἔσοπτρον.

Τετύχηκεν οὖν κρότων, ἐγκωμίων, ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ὅσ' ἄττα πρὸς εὐφημίαν ἁρμόττουσι. κεκοίνωται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὅσους ἐραστὰς θερμοὺς ᾔδειν τῶν σῶν λόγων. εἰ δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς δὴ περιῆν ὁ θεόπτης – ἐξείχετο γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῶν ἐκείνου κατάκρας –, ὑπερηγάσατ' ἂν τῆς μεγαλονοίας, τῆς μεγαλοφυΐας, τῶν ἀναντιρρήτων ἀποδείξεών τε καὶ πίστεων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν θύραθέν τινες ἦσαν, κἂν μὴ τοῖς Μωσέως θεσπίσμασι καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐπείσθησαν δόγμασιν – οἶμαι γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ἀμφοῖν ἂν συνηγορήκεσαν –, ἀλλά γε τῶν σῶν, Ἑλληνισμοῦ λέγω, γλώττης μεθόδων, ἐπιχειρημάτων σοφιστικῶν, σχημάτων φιλοσόφων, ὀργίων τε μυστικῶν καὶ φυσικῶν ἐπιστάσεων, ἅπερ ἐπανθεῖ τῷ λειμῶνι τῆς γλώττης σου, ἡττηθέντες μετ' αἰσχύνης ἀπῄεσαν.

Ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον καὶ λιπαρὸν γῆρας παραμείνειας· εἴης γὰρ ἂν ὄφελος μέγα τῷ βίῳ, λόγοις θείοις ἐμπρέπων πειθοῖ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ φυσικαῖς ἀποδείξεσι, λόγων τε παντοίων ἰδέαις καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ἀρεταῖς σεμνυνόμενος.

91. **7-8** ἀκηλίδωτον ἔσοπτρον: Sap. 7: 26 || **22-23** λιπαρὸν – παραμείνειας: cf. Hom. Od. 19, 367-368 ἵκοιο γῆράς τε λιπαρόν; Synes. ep. 9 (29, 1 Garzya 29) βαθύ σε γῆρας καὶ λιπαρὸν περιμείνειεν

5 post δ' erasum quid repetitur || **9-10** ὁσάττα P || **12** δὴ] om. LPdTheil || **15** κἂν P

his composition and the grandeur of his thoughts. The work charmed us no less than "its brothers" (the others) we have received, because it bears similar traits and precisely identical characteristics to those of the father, just like a spotless mirror.

It received applause, encomia, praises and the like that befit a work worthy of honour. It has also been made known to those I knew were ardent lovers of your orations. If Moses, who has seen God, would be around – for the discourse adhered to his deeds entirely – he would have been exceedingly pleased with its elevation of thought, its lofty genius and its undeniable proofs and arguments. Even if some pagans were present and were neither convinced by Moses' laws nor by your beliefs – I think that they would support neither of you – in the end they would be defeated, departing in shame, on account of your gifts, I mean your Hellenism, your rhetorical devices, the sophistic arguments, the philosophical syllogisms, the mysteries of philosophy, your physical observations, all of which abound in the meadow of your tongue.

But may a long and comfortable old age await you; a great boon you were to us in life, distinguished for your sacred discourses, their power of persuasion, your philosophy and demonstrations from the physical world, and exalted for the literary forms of your numerous compositions and for all your other virtues.

ϟα'

<ϟβ'>
Τῷ βασιλεῖ

Πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, παροιμία φησί, καὶ ταῦθ' ἥρως τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτους ἄθλους κατωρθωκώς. ἐγὼ δέ, πολλοστημόριον ὢν Ἡρακλέους, πῶς ἂν δυοῖν θηρίοιν ἐξωλεστάτοιν μαχοίμην, πενίᾳ καὶ [ἵππῳ]; τῇ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεοικυίᾳ χιμαίρας, τριφυοῦς ἀλλοκότου θηρίου, περὶ ἧς Ὅμηρος ἐρραψῴδησε,

πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα·

(πενίᾳ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων τὸ δάκνειν τε καὶ λεπτύνειν καὶ κατεσθίειν

τά τε ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα

καὶ τῇ τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου λυμαίνεσθαι). ὁ δ' ἵππος, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπτέρωται κατὰ Πήγασον μήτε σκιρτᾶν εἰς ἀέρα μεμάθηκε μήτ' οὖν ἀνθερίκεσσι θέειν ἐπ' ἄκροισι διδαχθ[είς], ὡς οἱ τὴν σειρὰν τοῦ γένους ἀπὸ Βορέου πρότερον ἕλκοντες, [ἕστηκεν ἀπὸ] φάτνης κενὸς πηγεσίμαλλός τε καὶ πεπηγὼς

92. 1 ad hanc epistulam cf. ep. 2 || **2** Πρὸς – Ἡρακλῆς: cf. adn. ad ep. 2, 3 || **4** δυοῖν – ἐξωλεστάτοιν: cf. Aristoph. Plut. 442 || **8** πρόσθε – χίμαιρα: Hom. Il. 6, 181 || **10** τά τε – τ' ἐόντα: Hom. Il. 1, 70 || **11** τριμερείᾳ τοῦ βίου: cf. Mich. Psel. Poemata 10 (234, 7-8 Westerink) ψυχῆς δὲ τριμέρεια ... θυμός, λόγος πόθος τε || **13** ἀνθερίκεσσι – ἄκροισι: cf. Hom. Il. 20, 226 ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν θέον

5 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 11 || **13** supplevimus || διδάχθη suppl LPdTheil || **15** suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 19

92. To the Emperor

Even Heracles was not a match for two, the proverb says, despite the fact that he was a most valiant hero, having accomplished so many and such great struggles. But I, who am but a fraction of Heracles, how could I fight against two abominable beasts, my poverty and my horse? The first one does not differ at all from the she-goat, a strange beast of threefold nature, about which Homer recited "in the fore part a lion, in the hinder a serpent, and in the midst a goat";[38] but instead of these, poverty can bite, beat to dust and devour "all things that were, and that were to be, and that had been before",[39] ruining the tripartite division of man's life. On the other hand, because my horse has not been provided with wings like Pegasus, nor learned to spring in the air nor to run over the topmost ears of ripened corn, like those that trace the line of their ancestry to Boreas, he stands at the manger hungry, with thick hair like a sheep, stuck on the ground

38. Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. A.T. Murray, I, 275.
39. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

[καὶ σφοδροῦ βορέου δε]όμενος, ἐφ' ᾧπερ κουφισθεὶς κινη-
p. 164 θῆναι, | τούτῳ μόνῳ Πηγάσῳ προσεοικώς, [τῷ] γυμνὸν ἐπὶ
νώτων με φέρειν καθὰ Βελλεροφόντην ὁ Πήγασος, [κατε-
σπαθη]κὼς μὲν ἅπαντά μοι βίον, ἐ[πανατεινό]μενος δὲ καὶ
σάρκας αὐτοῖς ὀστέοις σπαράξειν καὶ κυνηδὸν λα[φύξειν] τὴν
ἐντὸς οἰκονομίαν τῆς φύσεως.

Πρὸς οὖν πενίαν, τὴν [γε πολυ]κάρηνον ὕδραν, οὔθ' Ἡρακλέους οὔτε μολίβδου οὔτ' οὖν Ἰόλεω δεῖ, ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ χρυσίου καὶ βασιλέως, τοῦ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄπορον ποριμωτάτου καὶ μόνου τηλικούτων θηρίων ἐπισταμένου κατασοφίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττειν.

---

18 Βελλεροφόντην ὁ Πήγασος: cf. Zenob. 2, 87 (CPG I 54, 22-23) Ἀναβὰς οὖν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν Πήγασον, ὃν εἶχε ἵππον πτηνόν, κατεξότευσε τὴν Χίμαιραν || **20-21** σάρκας – φύσεως: cf. Irenaeus haer. PG 7/2: 1126B τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, τῆς ἐκ σαρκῶν καὶ νεύρων καὶ ὀστέων συνεστώσης || **22** πολυκάρηνον ὕδραν: cf. Aesch. Prom. 354-355 τέρας, ἑκατογκάρανον | Nic. Chon. Orat. 11 (111, 13 van Dieten) καὶ ὡς Ὕδραν Ἡρακλῆς πολυκάρηνον

---

16 suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 22, qui post πεπηγὼς vocem ἄντικρυς inseruit || ἐφῷπερ P || **17** suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 23 || **18-19** suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 25 || **19** suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 27 || **20** suppl LPdTheil coll ep. 2, 27 || **22** supplevimus [ἑκατογ]κάρηνον suppl LPdTheil || **25** σοφίζεσθαι LPdTheil

outright, in need of a violent north wind to be blown and thus move, only in this respect is he like Pegasus, that he carries me as a rider naked on his back, as Pegasus carried Bellerophon, having wasted my whole livelihood, threatening to tear to pieces my flesh and bones and like a dog devour my whole physical existence.

And so against poverty, the hundred-headed Hydra, one needs neither Heracles nor lead not even the help of Iolaos, but silver, gold, and the Emperor, who is most resourceful in every difficulty and the only one who knows how to deal with such beasts and deliver those in danger from their suffering.

ϟβ′

<ϟγ′>
Τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Γλυκέος πατριάρχου

Ἐγώ, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀναλωκὼς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδεύειν νέους καὶ μηδὲν τῆς ἐπαράτου ταύτης λειτουργίας ὀνάμενος, δεῖν ᾠήθην ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν βίῳ τοιῷδε, συντάξασθαι δὲ Θεῷ διὰ πολιτείας βελτίονος. ἀλλὰ τὸ δεινὸν δαιμόνιον φθόνον ἔσχε κἀν τούτῳ καὶ λαιῶς μοι τὸν κύβον πεπέττευκε· καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ ζυγῷ δουλείας καταδεδίκασμαι, βασιλέως ἔτι παιδεύειν νέους προστάσσοντος. δεηθεὶς οὖν τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων ἀποσιτίζεσθαι, βασιλεὺς κατένευσε κεφαλῇ. δεῖ δὴ τοῦ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκ[βῆ]ναι κινήσοντος τὴν κατάνευσιν. τίς δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου γένοιτ' ἂν δικαιότερος, ὅτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων μέλει τῶν λόγων; δεῖ δὲ καί του, ὃς ἂν νύ[ξῃ] τὸν πατριάρχην. οὗτος δ' ἂν γένοιο σύ, τόν τε πατριάρχην φιλῶν – [υἱὸς] γάρ – [καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ] πατριάρχου φιλούμενος – πατὴρ γάρ – κἀμὲ στέργων τὸν π[αιδευτήν, παρ' ᾧ] μετέσχες παιδείας. οὐκοῦν πείθων εἴης· δύνῃ καὶ γ[άρ ... ἀκ]ούσαις ἡδέως· ἀνδράρια πάλαι ποτὲ συνήθη μοι προσιόντα – οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς ὅτου κεκινημένα, προσιόντα δ' οὖν – ἀρχῆς ἀπ' ἄκρας θωπείαις προσέσχεν εἰρωνευόμενα, «ὡς εὐδαιμόνηκας», λέγοντα, «οἷον ἐπαίδευσας φοιτητήν», σὲ δήπου λέγοντα, «ὃς καὶ νῦν

---

93. **6** λαιῶς – πεπέττευκε: cf. Theod. Prodr. Carm. hist. 72 (p. 523, 24-25 Hörandner) ἀλλ' ὁ πικρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης κύβος λαιῶς ἐνεχθεὶς

---

10 suppl LPdTheil || **12** supplevimus auctore LPdTheil, qui νύ[ξει] suppl; cetera supplevimus

93. To the son of the Patriarch Glykys

I have spent so much time teaching the youth and have gained nothing from this accursed service, therefore I thought that I should take leave of this kind of life and be united with God for a better way of life. But the terrible evil spirit envied me also in this endeavor and threw the dice on my left side. And again I have been condemned under the yoke of slavery, as the Emperor has ordered me still to educate the youth. I have requested accordingly to be sustained by the imperial treasury and the Emperor consented by nodding his head. But someone must take the step and put consent into action. For who would be more appropriate than the patriarch, who has an interest in education more than others? But someone is needed who would prompt the patriarch. This person could be you, who loves the patriarch – because you are his son – and are loved by the patriarch – because he is your father – and also because you feel affection for me, your teacher, who educated you. Surely you would be convincing, because you can do it.

What I have to say next will not please you to hear. Some pitiful fellows that were once acquainted with me approached me, I know not whence and with what motive. Coming up to me, from the very start they began to flatter me ironically, saying "you have made a good fortune, having taught such a student", implying, somehow, you, and saying "who shall now make you

πλουτίσει κἂν γήρει βοσκήσει σε», τοιαῦτά τε πλείω ληροῦντα καὶ μακαρίαν ἐμὲ κενὴν μακαρίζοντα. ἐγὼ δέ, τοῦ δόλου σ[υν]εὶς καὶ μηδὲν εἰπών, κενοὺς κενῶς ἀποπέμπω. [.........] μηδὲν ἐρυθριάσαντ' ἀφίκοιντο. βύσον το[ίνυν τῶν ἀνδραρίων] τὰ στόματα· βύσαις δ' ἄν, ἢν τὸν πατριάρχην [κινήσης ....]

22 μακαρίαν – κενήν: cf. adn. ad ep. 46, 20

21 σὲ LPdTheil || 24 ἀφίκοντο LPdTheil || 25 explicit codex mutilus

rich and feed you in old age"? They talked such nonsense and even more and pronouncing me happy for my empty bliss. But realizing their deceit and saying nothing, I sent them away empty-handed and to no purpose .... not blushing from shame at all they arrived. Therefore shut the mouths of these pitiful fellows; you would silence them, if the patriarch.............

Epist. 1

15 Νυνὶ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἐληλακώς: In several letters Hyrtakenos complained that his life had become unbearable because he was plagued by old age and poverty on account of which he appealed for help to former students (Phokas, Epist. 10; Loukites Epist. 37 and 41, Basileios Glykys Epist. 67, Alexios Apokaukos Epist. 69) and government officials (Epist. 43 and 63). If we accept at face value his assertion that he was a friend in his youth of Konstantinos Akropolites and that he had pledged to Georgios Akropolites before he died in 1282 to maintain an everlasting friendship with his son and consider the composition of his funeral oration for Nikephoros Choumnos in 1327 as a more or less secure date then the time span of these two chronologies yield a period of 45 years. Assuming that the promise he gave to Akropolites took place in his youth then the year of his birth cannot be placed later than the sixties of the thirteen century. But again this hypothesis does not help to propose an approximate date

for the letters in which he bemoans (seriously or not it is irrelevant) his old age and poverty.

16-17 συνίσχημαι δὲ σιτοδείᾳ: More than one third of Hyrtakenos correspondence deals with his claim for a *sitéresion* for his services as a teacher. For it is well known that those who taught and were in the service of the State normally received besides grants of money a year's allowance of grain in kind. In a series of letters addressed to the Emperor (Epist. 2; 33, 34 53), the grand logothete (Epist. 8; 9; 36, 39, 65) and to influential former students (Epist. 10; 60, 87) Hyrtakenos asked for a supply of grain or barley describing his needs and poverty in a dramatic way and at times in a somewhat humorous way also the misery of his starving horse which in its despair threatened to devour him (Epist. 2; 6-7; 9-10; 28-30; 92). The chronology and the circumstances under which these letters were written cannot be established since they do not provide any concrete hints. His overall poverty and pleas for grain may be unrealistic. On the other hand, they seem to underline his constant financial insecurity: νυνὶ δέ, γηπονίας ἀπούσης, τοῦτο δὴ σιτοδεία, τὸ πάντων θηρίων παραπέφυκεν ἐξωλέστατον, καὶ οἷα γαῦρος ταῦρος καταμυκᾶταί τε καὶ καταμωκᾶταί μου (Epist. 1, 20-22).

26-27 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ᾧ με συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσω: The horse Hyrtakenos was given by the Emperor is mentioned in a letter to Choumnos (Epist. 6,17 and 7,28) and to Metochites (Epist. 9,23) and becomes a topic always in connection with his poverty in several other (Epist. 2,8 to the Emperor; 7,20 to Choumnos; 10,6 to Phokas; 28,3 to Choumnos; 29,18 and 30,9-10 to Bardales). They actually form a cluster and probably belong in the same period. The view that they were written at a latter period than Epist. 15, which Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 228-229, places around the year 1310, is based on a rather false assumption. This letter in fact should be dated after 1328. Consequently the chronology of the above mentioned group remains open to discussion. Cf. the commentary on Epist. 15.

33 κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Γλαύκου ἐκμέμηνεν: Glaukos of Potniae was devoured by his horses at the funeral games for Pelias. The story may go back to Aeschylus' lost tragedy Glaucus Potnieus (TrgF 3. 148-58); cf. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 468. The theme of Glaukos is employed also in Epist. 7,28; 9,29; 28,8 in connection with Hyrtakenos's starving horse.

Epist. 2

3-4 πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, παροιμία φησί: Cf. also Epist. 92 which is a duplicate of this letter – perhaps a first draft.

Epist. 3

4-7 προσιόντα με τὴν πρώτην κλῖμαξ εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ προτεμενίσματος – ἡ θύρα μοχλοῖς καὶ ὀχεῦσι σιδηροῖς ἐπεζύγωτο: The text of Epist. 3-4 does not specify the location of the patriarchal residence. In the period under consideration it has been proposed that it was housed in the compound of the Church of Saint Theophylact, where it is known that

in the past decades there were convened a series of Synods and some of the Patriarch's resided there.[1] In his first attempt to visit the Patriarch Hyrtakenos came up to the stairs of the front building, but he found the gate closed and had to wait outside together with the beggars. At vespers the gate was open, but the way leading the Patriarch was again closed. At his second visit two weeks later the first gates of the church were closed, but someone indicated to him to go to a wooden gate which led to the Patriarch's residence, yet the gate keeper closed it at Hyrtakenos' face.

Epist. 5

14-15 εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους προφθὰς αἰτῶ λαβεῖν πρῶτος, θαῦμα γ' οὐδέν: Hyrtakenos' intellectual pursuits and interests occupy only a small part of his correspondence, but nevertheless the few available pieces of evidence illustrate to some extent his contacts. Like most of his contemporaries he borrowed manuscripts for reading or copying as this letter suggests. The work he requested is not specified in the text, but it was most likely the Περὶ Ψυχῆς philosophical treatise of Choumnos in which he had attacked the views of Plato and Plotin (*PG* 140, 1403-1438); cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1978, 690. The next two letters addressed as

1. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς», 344-347. R. Janin, *La géogpraphie ecclésiastique de l' empire byzantin, III, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, 246.

well to Choumnos (Epist. 6-7) deal also with his discourse "On the Soul", which Hyrtakenos heard during a reading session where it was presented for the first time (Epist. 6, 2-3). Complying with his request Choumnos sent him a copy of his treatise, but Hyrtakenos kept it longer than it was probably agreed prompting a complaint on Choumnos' part (Epist. 6, 12-13). The date of the composition "On the Soul" has not been yet established, yet Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, p. 55 dated it in the period 1315-1317. Without excluding this possibility, it should be pointed out that his supposition is nowhere documented. Be that as it may, Hyrtakenos appears to have been close to Choumnos (at least for a certain period of time) because he receive from him his discourses on two different occasions (cf. Epist. 86 and 91).

Epist. 7

26-27 Σιμόεις – tributary of the Skamandros river in Troy, at the plain of which were fought the battles for its conquest; Hom. *Il.* 4, 475.

Epist. 8

30-32 ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν χρυσῖτιν γῆν ἐμετάλλευον — περιερρεόμην ἂν ἀργυρίοις τε καὶ χρυσίοις: The envy of the impoverished intellectual towards the comfortable life that leads an artisan who works with his hands is a topos; cf., for instance, the "Dramation" of Michael Haplucheir in P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis", *Byz* 39

(1969) 251-283. Hunger, *Die hohchsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* I, 69-70.

39-43 Ἵν' οὖν μὴ λιμοῦ θᾶττον ἔργον γενοίμεθα – ἵν' εὐθέως δοκοῖμεν ἂν διακονικοὶ καὶ κοιλίας ἡμετέρας θεραπευταί, ταὐτὰ δρῶντες τῷ τῆς κωμῳδίας Ἑρμῇ: Hyrtakenos alludes to Aristophanes' *Pluto* 1168sq. Remarkably he cited in his letters mostly excerpts from Pluto which was the most widely read of Aristophanes' works after the *Clouds*. Aristophanes was read in the school because of his ethical precepts which he conveyed hidden in his mockery and sarcasm and there is good reason to believe that Hyrtakenos included some Aristophanic texts in his curriculum. For the editions and scholia of Aristophanes during the Palaeologan period, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* II 71-75; J.W. Koster, "Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue des études grecques* 76 (1963) 393ff.

Epist. 10

5-7 τὸ τῷ γῆρᾳ καταπῖπτον ὑπάνεχε τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἀντιπελάργωσιν: Hyrtakenos employed the topos of *antipelargosis* in a series of letters addressed to former students (Epist. 60, 78, 87). However, as a topos signifying the retribution for benefits received, it appears rather rarely in epistolographical texts; cf. Epist. 117, 20 of Michael Choniates, Kolovou 196.

Epist. 11

4-5 οὗτος δὴ Χωνιάτης – βίβλον Ἀριστοτέλους τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφε: Hyrtakenos seems to have procured for Metochites the Aristotle manuscript in the possession of the unknown otherwise Choniates (*PLP* 31233) with the understanding that it was given on temporary loan: σοῦ μὲν ᾐτηκότος, ἐμοῦ δὲ κεκομικότος. Fearing that his manuscript may be not returned, Choniates proposed to sell it, using as a pretext his poverty. We do not know the value of manuscripts during this period. N. G. Wilson has remarked that "the supply of books is reflected in the prices they fetched [and they] were high in relation to the salaries of civil servants, who were probably an important section of the reading public"; cf. "Books and Readers in Byzantium", *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium,* Washington, D.C. 1975, 3. Indicative however for the book trade and by extension the price of a manuscript is the great number of works copied in the early Palaeologan period; cf. the excellent discussion of the subject by H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖBG* 8 (1959) 123-155, esp. 138ff; *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur,* Munich 1989, 40-42.

Epist. 13

2 ἧσας, οἷς ἐπεπόμφεις: Hyrtakenos received from the Protos of Mount Athos in addition to olive oil and saffron, wooden pestles. Michael Choniates had received as a gift

also two pestles from the abbot of the monastery of Kynegos ton Philosophon; Epist. 120, 10-12, Kolovou, 200. For gifts mentioned in Byzantine letters cf. A. Karpozilos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography", *BZ* 77 (1984) 20-37; 88 (1995) 68-84, where the sending or receipt of olive oil, saffron and pestles are recorded.

Epist. 14

4 τὰς ἐμὰς ἐρινεάσαι συκᾶς: The *Geoponica* prescribe that the hanging of the fruit-bearing branches of the wild fig (ἐρινεὸς) near the cultivated fig trees in order to mature their fruit should be carried during the month of June: τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ ἐν ταῖς συκαῖς τοὺς ὀλύνθους καὶ τὰ ἐρινεὰ κρεμάσομεν. *Geoponica* 3, 6, 4, (Beckh 94, 11-12). Cf. also Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 557b, 28 (Bekker). Hyrtakenos forms an infinitive ἐρινεάσαι from the unattested verb ἐρινεάζω – but this could be explained as simply a scribal mistake – instead of the standard verb ἐρινάζω.

Epist. 15

Fatouros considered this letter to be one of the earliest in the collection because Hyrtakenos requested from the recipient an Albanian horse and as it is evident from other letters he had made the same request about a horse to the Emperor. On this ground, he identified the recipient with a cousin of the Emperor Andronikos II, Palaiologos Andronikos Komnenoss Branas Doukas Angelos (*PLP* 21439), who died sometime after 1310. Yet, it is more probable that Hyrtakenos

addressed his letter to the protovestiarios Palaiologos Andronikos Angelos Komnenos Doukas, cousin of Andronikos III, who was governor of Belegrada/ Beration in the region of Albania and died in Prilapon in the year 1328 (*PLP* 21435). Consequently the letter must be dated considerably later. If this supposition proves correct then the letter must have been written during the reign of Andronikos III because in the inscription the addressee is called cousin of the Emperor (Τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαδέλφῳ) being implied Andronikos III.

2-9 Ἦν μέν, ὡς λόγος – ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφεὶς τῷ πελάγει: The flight of Daedalus and his son Icarus became a standard topos in letter writing – oh that I had wings to fly like a dove and come near you! – but in this case Hyrtakenos chose to expand his theme with a few more inferences (about Minos and Pasiphae and then Sappho) in order to provide the framework of the fantastic flight of the ancient inventor. The same theme Hyrtakenos used and in a letter to Konstantinos Loukites (Epist. 40, 2-5), paraphrasing in essence the first part of his original version. For this epistolographical topos, see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 227.

49 ἵππου τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ: An Albanian horse was obviously considered to be of a special breed. Theodore II Laskaris gave to his minister, Georgios Mouzalon, an Ἀλβανὸν ἵππον brought from Epidamnos, which he considered "an excellent gift appropriate for an excellent man" (Epist. 203, 5, 9, Festa, 250). Cf. A. Karpozilos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography", *BZ* 88 (1995) 69.

Epist. 16

6-8 περὶ γῆς ἐργασίαν τετράμμην – τὴν λύτταν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀναστέλλοιμι: Hyrtakenos mentions in other letters as well his resolve of changing his teaching profession because of the financial problems he was facing (cf. Epist. 64, 93). On this occasion, he recounts his failed venture to become a farmer and how his land estate was lost in an earthquake. But he had hoped through the mediation of Theodoros Metochites (in his capacity of *megas logothetes*?) to obtain land property away from the scene of destruction. The date and the facts of the letter cannot be established. He nevertheless turned for help to Metochites again during a land survey and distribution of *pronoia* holdings in the region of Nymphaion (cf. Epist. 20). We do not know whether he managed to acquire land in this manner or whether his attempt to obtain monastic property as a *charistikion* around Kyzikos through the mediation of Basileios Glykys, the son of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys (cf. Epist. 67), was successful.

Epist. 17

12 Ἀλλ᾽ ἦν, σοῦ τὴν βασιλέως ἐρυθροδόκην ἀναπετάσαντος: The word ἐρυθροδόκη used by Hyrtakenos to designate the inkwell which contained the purple ink for signing imperial documents appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. The common name for inkwell is *μελανδόχη* or *μελανδόχον πυξίδιον* as in Tzetzes, Epist. 39,9; 80,6 Leone, 57; 119. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 86, proposes the word κανίκλειον for inkwell; cf. however the discussion of this term by F. Dőlger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 50-52.

Epist. 18

7-9 πεμφθήτω δή· φιλοπονώτερον γὰρ ἀναγνωσθεὶς – θαυμασθήσεται: The subject of the letter is about a newly composed work of Metochites (unspecified, however)[2] which Hyrtakenos heard delivered during a reading session and wanted to borrow – a gesture that probably would have pleased the grand logothete or so he thought.

Epist. 19

The identity of the undisciplined student of Hyrtakenos cannot be ascertained. G. Fatouros identified him with Demetrios Metochites (*PLP* 17980), a young supporter of Andronikos III who became in 1326 governor of Stroumitza and on the basis of his young age and appointment to this office he dated the letter before 1312; cf. "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Thodoros Hyrtakenos", 221-222, 230.

2 ἔδει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐμὲ παρεῖναι: Hyrtakenos employs a well

2. I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Bruxelles 1962, 112, n. 2 supposed that the work which Hyrtakenos requested was probably the newly composed Introduction to Astronomy of Metochites.

known topos in letter writing having in mind probably the beginning of Saint Basil's Epist. 269 (III 139 Courtonne: τὸ μὲν ἀκόλουθον ἦν καὶ ὀφειλόμενόν σου τῇ διαθέσει ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι). For the theory of friendship and this particular topos that, although away from his friend, the epistolographer is still with him spiritually, and that time and distance cannot affect their bond, cf. G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l' épistolographie byzantine*, Uppsala 1959, 34ff. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

Epist. 20

The letter is one of the few sources that mention the process of conferring a conditional grant of the revenues derived from land property (*pronoia*) in the fourteenth century. The location of Nymphae cannot be ascertained and Nymphaion of Lydia in western Asia Minor comes into consideration only before it fell to the Turks in 1315. The inspection of the land holdings was carried by a fiscal official whom Hyrtakenos called μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς and further down καθηγεμὼν τῆς ἱερᾶς γεωδαισίας, synonyms perhaps of the office of μέγας λογαριαστὴς (controller of expenses). I. Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time", in P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton 1975, 27-28, assumed that by the μέγας ἐν λογισταῖς Hyrtakenos implied the *megas logothetes* Theodoros Metochites, who is known to have sold land grants. For a discussion of the letter and the meaning of ἐπίσκεψις (inspection of land property) and οἰκονομία (a synonym of *pronoia*), see M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, 356, 358.

Epist. 21

2 τῷ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ Βαραγκάτῳ: He was expelled from his homeland by the barbarians and found refuge and employment as a practitioner of medicine in Constantinople (*PLP* 2148). Perhaps to be identified with Βαραγύτης Μιχαήλ, author of a short treatise on medicine and philosophy (*PLP* 2153).

Epist. 22

2 Οὐδὲν Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἄρει κοινόν: Hyrtakenos builds up his argument by making a contrast between the god of war Ares and Hermes his patron, the god of learning. The same topos is employed in a different context also by Maximos Planudes: Φῄς γὰρ θεομηνίαν τοῦτ' ἂν εἶναι καὶ ὄλεθρον, εἴ γε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις συνέσται. Καὶ συνάψει τῷ Ἄρει καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ δυστυχήσει τὸ μέγα τοῦτο δυστύχημα. Maximus Planudes, Epist. 99, 13.

But was Hyrtakenos serious about his draft and his petition to be exempted from military service? That he should be freed of his duty because he was obliged to serve under an uncivilized decurion is not at all convincing – unless he purposely gave a twist to his story to sound like a farce. In Constantinople the paramilitary guard

service was performed by civilians who were organized by neighborhood under a *demarchos* (*ODB* I, 602-603). Hyrtakenos was obviously required to undertake guard service against his will, because, as he pleads, he was taken away from his scholarly pursuits at the command of a *demarchos*. The letter must date from an early period since he does not bring as a pretext his age. The text has not been discussed before save for a brief note by M.C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society*, 1204-1453, Philadelphia 1992, 254. Cf. K.-P. Matschke, "Rolle und Aufgaben der Demarchen in der spätbyzantinischen Haupstadt", *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel*, Hamburg 2008, 153-187, esp. 167 n. 60. The δήμαρχοι were not representatives of the demes, but executive organs of the ruling class.

6 δεκάρχους: In the *Sylloge Tacticorum*, ed. A. Dain, Paris 1938, 13, δέκαρχος δὲ καλεῖται οὐχ ὁ δέκα ἄρχων ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἐκ τῶν δέκα πρῶτος· δέκα γὰρ ὄντων ὁ εἷς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχει ἐννέα.

8-9 κύβων – τηλιῶν: ἔστιν καὶ ἡ σανὶς τῶν κύβων τηλία, ἐφ᾽ ἧ οἱ κυβεύοντες παίζουσι. *Etymologicum Magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford, 757, 5-6.

22 Κρομμυωνίᾳ συί: Ἡ δὲ Κρομμυωνία σῦς, ἣν Φαιὰν προσωνόμαζον, οὐ φαῦλον ἦν θηρίον, ἀλλὰ μάχιμο καὶ χαλεπὸν κρατηθῆναι. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8, 6, 5.

Epist. 24

6-7 ἵν᾽ οὖν μὴ Κρόνῳ τἀμὰ καταποθείη γεννήματα, τῶν φιλτάτων δὲ στερηθείην ἐγώ: Hyrtakenos intentionally did not name the official who was supposed to present a letter of his to the Emperor. He called him Kronos in a light spirit if not ironically like the mythological god who had devoured his own children. Hyrtakenos' pun is quite obvious for he regarded his letter as an offspring of his following the classicizing jargon of his day. Responsible for the presentation of the petitions addressed to the Emperor was the *epi ton deeseon*. In the period under discussion this office was occupied by Georgios Chatzikes (*PLP* 30724).

Epist. 25

2-3 Ἠιτηκότι σοι τον λόγον ἥκει μετὰ θάρρους, ἥκει δ᾽ οὖν οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῷ προτέρῳ: The work which Phialites had asked from Hyrtakenos could be a revised version of the oration which he dedicated to the Virgin of the Akatamachetos Church, ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris 1831, 1-58. The same work he presented to Pepagomenos; cf. Epist. 51.

Epist. 26

2 Κονδύλους ἀπὸ καλάμων ὑπογραφέας: The main writing instrument in Byzantium was the sharpened reed (*kalamos*) whose fine tip was similar to modern metal pens.[3] Their value may have been minimal and yet they were

3. Cf. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 86. *ODB* III, 1621-1622.

considered appropriate as a small gift. Georgios Kyprios provided Theodora Raoulaina with fine reeds for pens (δόνακας) and asked her to return them if she had no use of them. Cf. S. Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina", *Parekbolai* 1 (2011) 128, 147, 1-10. And Ioannes Tzetzes receiving some knives as a gift he remarked that he knew something about them because he used one to sharpen his pen (Epist. 69,8ff, Leone, 98).

4-5 ὁ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἐπώνυμος: It is not clear if the person implied here is an official named Βλαχερνίτης or an official of the Blachernai palace, a προκαθήμενος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν παλατίων (cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, 139,19; 166,2; 187,25 and Manuel Philes, epigr. 41, Miller, II, 411, 101). Yet, a certain Μανουὴλ Βλαχερνίτης appears in the sources as *hetaireiarches* in Thessalonike in the service of Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1328 (*PLP* 2829).

Epist. 27

5-7 πέπυσμαι γὰρ ὥς τινες τῶν αὐτονόμων – μέρος τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι κόμματος: The addressee was about to join a monastic community which was in schism with the official body of the Church. Implied must be the followers of Arsenios Autoreianos who refused to recognize the patriarchate of Constantinople. If this supposition is correct then the letter was written prior to the healing of the schism in 1310.

Epist. 31

5-6 Ῥαδηνὸν δ' οὐκ ἂν πείσαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ᾑρημένον εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄνδρα: Radenos, a former student of Hyrtakenos and at that time employed in some official capacity in the court, may be identified with Nikolaos Radenos (*PLP* 23984), a correspondent of Georgios Oinaiotes.[4]

23-24 βηλάριον: In the context of this letter Hyrtakenos seems to refer to a fabric made of cotton in various colors, used for garments; cf. βηλάρια βαμβακερά, τὸ ἓν πράσινον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον βένετον, *Actes d'Iviron*, II, ed, V. Kravari et al., 180, 25, 29. In two other letters he asked the addressees, the *megas dioiketes* (Epist. 43, 8) and Nikephoros Metochites (Epist. 49, 12) for a mantle (χλαῖνα) to keep him warm in winter. For the same reason he asked his former student Loukites to send him from Trebizond a secular black cowl lined with a fox fur together with an undergarment made of silk also in black color: κοσμικὸν μέλαν ἄμφιον πέμψον, δορὰν ἠμφιεσμένον (Epist. 37, 28-29).

Epist. 33

14 Σουσαρίων: Perhaps he was a fictitious person, credited as having originated comedy between 581-560 BC. Pauly-Wissova, IV A 973-974.

4. Kourouses, «Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς», 373.

Epist. 34

11 σuζῴη δὲ βασιλεύς: The letter was written either during the joint rule of Michael IX with his father Andronikos II – in the period 1294-1320 – or after the death of Michael IX in 1320, when besides Andronikos II on the throne had been raised his grandson Andronikos III, crowned Emperor in February 1325.[5] Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 223-224, has connected this letter with Epist. 33 (addressed to the Emperor) and Epist. 36 (addressed to Metochites) because in all three letters Hyrtakenos described his material privations requesting corn and barley (σπάνις ἀναγκαίων κρατῇ (34, 3); ἀλλὰ γὰρ νέμοις, γαληνότατε βασιλεῦ, αὐτῷ σίτῳ καὶ κριθὴν (33, 16-17); ἐπισιτισμοῦ δέησίς μοι πρὸς βασιλέα 36, 26) and has proposed an early date for them around the year 1312.

11-12 ἔς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ. The verse derives from the Epigram *Anthol. Gr.* VII 153, attributed incorrectly in antiquity to Homer or Kleobulos of Lindos:

> Χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.
> ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
> αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
> ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαμπται.

5. Cf. Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος*, Athens 1956, 186-189.

It was cited by Plato in *Phaedr.* 264d and been widely known ever since. The quotation was known also to Libanios, or. 17,34 (II 220 Foerster), ep. 780 (X 704 Foerster). The source of Hyrtakenos cannot be ascertained – it could be Libanios or the *Anthologia Planudea*. It is also cited by the Anonym. Upsal., G.H. Karlsson, *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 28*, Stockholm 1981, 53, 88.

Epist. 35

4-5 ἠμεληκέναι με τοῦ φιλτάτου: Metochites was not an indifferent parent with regard to his children's education (cf. Gregoras, VIII 5, 309, 12- 19 who taught his son – probably Nikephoros – and his daughter Eirene) and judging from Hyrtakenos' correspondence he made inquiries about his son's progress especially when he thought that his child did not receive enough instruction as this letter suggests (cf. Epist. 74, 10-12: μηνύματα συχνά, χειμερίαις ἐοικότα νιφάδεσσι, παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀφικνοῦνται λαμπρότητος ὥστ' ἐπιδιδόναι παιδείᾳ τὸν φίλτατον). Yet it is not clear which one of his four sons is implied in the above mentioned letters. They may refer to Nikephoros Metochites, the only one in fact to be a recipient of Hyrtakenos' letters (Epist. 42, 44, 49, 71). As to its date, Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Metochites", 223-224 proposed the year 1312 or even an earlier time for the four letters addressed to Metochites with regard to the education of his sons in the chronological sequence (Epist. 62, 19, 35, 74).

Epist. 36

5-6 βασιλεὺς δέ, οὗ χάριν καὶ δι' ὃν ἥλιος δεδημιούργηται: Applied to the Emperor as a sun-like ruler, the topos is derived from antiquity and became a standard propaganda piece in both imperial ceremony and court rhetoric. The same motif is developed by Hyrtakenos in his Προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, that is Andronikos II: ψυχὴν εἶναι τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτου χάριν καὶ δεδημιούργητο (ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 251). Cf. also H. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, Vienna 1964, 75-80. M.G. Parani, "Rise like the Sun: the God-inspired Kingship: Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremony", in A. Lidov, ed. *Light and Fire in Sacred Space*, Moscow 2013, 159-184.

Epist. 37

6-7 οὔπω γὰρ τῆς προτέρας λύπης ἀφυβρισάσης – προτέραν δὲ λέγω τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνεμᾷ συμβᾶσαν τῷ μακαρίτῃ: The drowning of Anemas (*PLP* 91211) in the sea of Propontis is mentioned in one more letter addressed to Loukites (Epist. 40, 15), yet the text does not clarify whether he was the captain, a member of the crew of the sunken ship, or simply a courier bringing gifts to Hyrtakenos from Trebizond. The latter seems more probable. Shipwrecks are rarely mentioned in the sources; cf. G. Makris, "Schiffbruch" in his *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schiffahrt*, Genova 1988, 242-245.

38-40 Ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου μεγιστᾶνος ἐγκώμιον – τῇ περιφανείᾳ σου πέπομφα: This epic work of Hyrtakenos composed in two hundred fifty dactylic hexameters is not extant.

40-41 καθ' Ὅμηρον, ἀπὸ μυῶν καὶ βατράχων: Implied is the parody of the *Ilias Batrachomyomachia* (the Battle of Frogs and Mice), a short Epos in 303 verses, which was traditionally believed to be a work of Homer; cf. Th. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera* V, Oxford 1946, 168-183.

Epist. 38

34-36 ἐρυθριάσας τοίνυν ὁ παιδευτὴς ἐπανήκει κενὸς – καὶ παρὰ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρυτανεῖον χωρεῖ τραφησόμενος: Hyrtakenos' income depended upon the fees he exacted from his students, but the pay was irregular and even rich parents failed to pay him. His livelihood threatened, he complained to the grand logothete Metochites (Epist. 39, 66, 81) and the Emperor (Epist. 53, 64) that his students refused to pay him their fees. In several letters addressed to the Emperor and to high ranking officials he asked to be given a *siteresion*, that is a yearly allowance for his services as a teacher (Epist. 63, 64, 74, 77, 81, 93). His school was private but it was attended by students sponsored by the government. A number of his former students moreover were serving in the imperial court as *notarioi* and other similar positions.

40-41 Ἀλλ' ἦν τῶν βασιλέως νοταρίων ἕκαστος ἀργύριον ἓν κατὰ μῆνα βραβεύῃ μοι τῷ παιδεύσαντι: A very unrealistic proposal by Hyrtakenos, but one which underscores his in-

sistence that the services he renders to the State should be recognized. The imperial secretaries (called also *grammatikoi*) ranked low in the ranks of the administration and served in various government departments; cf. *ODB* III, 1495.

Epist. 40

10 ὡς χελιδόσιν – γράμμασιν / **12** αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀηδόνες λιγυρὸν ᾀσματίσωσι: The nightingale and the swallow to which the letter is likened is a well known topos in almost every collection of letters and in *progymnasmata*. Cf. Mauropous, Epist. 1, Karpozilos, 33, 1-15; 199-201. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l' épistolographie byzantine*, 106-111. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

Epist. 41

10-11 κατὰ τὸν ἀνεψηθέντα Πέλοπα: Pelops was killed by his father Tantalus and his flesh was offered to the gods at a meal in order to test their intelligence. The gods however returned him to life.

12-13 ἐς Ἀιδωνέως κατιόντα τῇ τε ψυχῇ τοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίου χρησάμενον: Aidoneus ruled in the underworld, in the realm of the dead, where Odysseus descended and sought a prophecy from the ghost of the blind seer Teiresias (Homer, *Odyssey*, 10, 485ff).

Epist. 44

2 Σὺ – φιλόσοφος εἶ: About Nikephoros Metochites' erudition we know next to nothing, yet Hyrtakenos appealed to his philosophic training twice in an attempt to flatter him and make his case each time more creditable (cf. Epist. 71,2ff.).

Epist. 46

2 Ἄλλην τρέχων τις, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία, ἄλλην ἐβάδισε: The proverb seems to have its roots in late antiquity but it surfaces in letter collections mostly after the twelfth century. Cf. M. Grünbart, "Da capo: Ein übersehenes byzantinisches Sprichwort", *Medioevo Greco* 6, (2006) 145-147.

3-6 πεπτωκότος πατρὸς καὶ φίλου – καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω διατηρεῖν: The letter must have been written long after the death of Georgios Akropolites (1282) – since Hyrtakenos reminded the addressee the promise they had given to his father that they stay close friends. His rise to the office of *megas logothetes* sometime after 1294 (or perhaps later in 1305/1306) may have provided the occasion for the composition of the letter.

Epist. 47

7-8 τὴν δόσιν – παρηγγύησας Πατζοπούλῳ: An otherwise unknown person (*PLP* 22047).

Epist. 50

11-13 Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί μή, γράμμασιν ἐπιστείλας – ἁπλοϊκοῖς δέ τισι

καὶ πεζοῖς, καὶ τούτοις δι' ἀλλοτρίας χειρός: Hyrtakenos thought it was not appropriate for a scholar residing in the Queen of Cities to receive a pedestrian message written even by someone else's hand and not his correspondent. It is not clear if he was snobbish or simply condescending to his provincial correspondent. Ioannes Tzetes had received also a letter written in simple and low style (ἐμετρίαζε γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν κατεσύρετο), but he praised the author, a high ranking official, for his splendid ideas (Epist. 76, 9ff, Leone, 112).

20-21 τί πρὸς ταύτην Ἀθῆναι, αἵ πρὶν μὲν χρυσαῖ ταῖς παιδεύσεσιν, νυνὶ δὲ κενὴ μακαρία: The decline of Athens as a cultural centre and Constantinople as its spiritual heir is a rather common theme in rhetorical and epistolographical texts. The well known passage of Michael Choniates about the poverty of the city and its uneducated citizens reflected a realistic situation (cf. Epist. 8, 28, and 52, Kolovou, 11-13, 38-39 and 72-73). Hyrtakenos' statement goes however back to an old rhetorical topos which contrasted the pagan wisdom of Athens to the glorious imperial City which was founded by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great. This trend of thought is nothing new for it is encountered in various city encomia like the *Byzantios* of Theodoros Metochites,[6] but also in letter collections, for instance of Konstantinos Akropolites (Epist.

6. Cf. Theodoros Metochites, *Βυζάντιος ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλίδος μεγαλοπόλεως*, ed. I. Polemis, Thessaloniki, § 33, pp. 358,21-360,55.

37,1-8, Romano, 136-137), and of Ioannes Chortasmenos: καὶ Ἀθηναίων τὰ σεμνὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ φοβερὰ διηγήματα εἰς τὸ μηδὲν περιέστη τανῦν, καὶ εἰ μὴ δι' Ἀριστείδην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ποιηθέντα λόγον ἐκείνῳ οὐδόλως ἂν ἦν ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ πόλις, (Epist. 44,6-9, Hunger, 200, 45,2-5. Cf. also E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9], Munich 1968, 196ff). But Hyrtakenos by praising the City as a centre of culture and learning in essence projected himself as a tutor and scholar and this becomes more evident in another letter of his to his former student Loukites in which he repeats the same cliché and considers him moreover fortunate to have studied (implied of course under him) in the Queen of Cities: καὶ τεθαύμακα μὲν τὸν ἐπιστείλαντα, μεμακάρικα δὲ τὴν ὀλβιωτάτην ἐν λόγοις καὶ πάγχρυσον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ φιλευσεβοῦς βασιλέως πόλιν (Epist. 73, 6-9).

Epist. 51

2-3 Ἥκει σοι μὲν ὁ λόγος – ἐπήγγελτο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅπως οὐχ ἥξειν: The promised work sent to Pepagomenos is evidently the oration Hyrtakenos had dedicated to the Virgin of the Akatamachetos Church in Constantinople;[7] cf.

7. The location of the Akatamachetos Church is not known, but its founder, a certain sebastos Gouliotes may have lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III. *Les églises et les monastères*, 157.

Θεοδώρου εὐτελοῦς τοῦ Ὑρτακηνοῦ λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτείαν τῆς ὑπερευλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀκαταμαχήτου (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 1-58).

Epist. 52

2-3 Εἰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἦλθες, σοφώτατε, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ψῆφον αὐτοῖς δικαίαν ἔχεις ἐξενεγκών: Perhaps the dispatched epic to Galesiotes is the same as the one Hyrtakenos had sent to Loukites; cf. Epist. 37, 38-40.

Epist. 55

73-74 Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν ἤδη πρὸς τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦ νοῦ στρέφω τὸν ἄξονα: A frequently used phrase in his other writings: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν κείμενον στρεπτέον ἤδη τοῦ λόγου τὸν ἄξονα. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 289; II, 441, 452;

Epist. 56

24 σεπτέος ὁ δώδεκα: The number twelve was sacred in the judaeo-christian tradition (Old and New Testament, Christian calendar) and in Greek antiquity (Mythology, the sciences, astronomy and mathematics). Cf. G.K. Spyridakes, *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 5, 243-244. "Number Symbolism and Theory", *ODB*, III, 1502.

45-48 δέλτου τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς Ὀδυσσείας – χρεώ σε ταύτης ἔφασκεν: It should be pointed out that it is not very clear if the twelve golden *nomismata* which Loukites sent to Hyrtakenos covered also the price of a copy of Homer's *Odyssey* plus the purchase of fish roe and incense or were simply a very generous gift to him. For some indicative prices for manuscripts assessed in the Palaeologan period, see H. Hunger, "Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖBG* 8 (1959) 123-155, esp. 138ff; *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, 41-42.

52-53 ὃ μόνον ἦν, διαπέπεμπται. τὸ δ' ἐστί, λίτρα θυμιάματος μία: Incense in the form of an aromatic resin was imported from Arabia and India and it is interesting that Loukites ordered it from Constantinople. For its usage in the Jewish ritual and its introduction later in the Christian worship as also in the imperial ceremonies, see the lemma "Θυμίαμα" in the *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 6, 560-562 and B. Chevallier – Caseau, *Εὐωδία, The Use and Meaning of Fragrances in the Ancient World and their Christianization (100 – 900 AD)*, Chicago 1994.

55 ἦν δὲ μόσχος ἄριστος διαπεμφθείη: Implied is musk, an aromatic substance extracted from the abdomen of the male musk deer and sold in Constantinople by the guild of *myrepsoi* together with spices and aromatic products brought from Pontos, that is Chaldia and Trebizond; ἀλλ' ἐμπορευέσθωσαν ... ξυλαλώην, ἄμβαρ, μόσχον, λίβανον σμύρναν; cf. *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder, [CFHB 33], Vienna 1991, § 10, 1, 7 and 10, 2, 2. In his treatise on the nutritious properties of food Symeon Seth gives a description of the various kinds of musk and the places of their production; B. Langkavel, *Simeonis Sethi Syn-*

tagma de alimentorum facultatibus, Leipzig 1868, 66-67. One of course wonders that Loukites should have asked for such supplies which one would expect that were available in Trebizond, where they were normally imported from the Middle East and from there carried to Constantinople.

57 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ᾠῶν ταρίχη εὑρέθη: Hyrtakenos claimed that he could not find fish roe in Constantinople to send it to Loukites because the fishermen had not caught any *kephalos* (Mugil cephalus). Yet the request of Loukites for caviar is puzzling considering that this commodity was exported from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the markets of Constantinople: καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πόντου κατακομιζόμενον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν ἐκεῖσε ταχιρευομένων ἰχθύων ᾠόν, Epist. 52, Chortasmenos, 209, 27-29 dated ca. 1407. Was it then at that time not available in the markets of Trebizond? Cf. D. Jacoby, "Caviar Trading in Byzantium", *Mare et litora: Essays presented to Sergei Karpov*, ed. R. Shukurov, Moscow 2009, 349-363, esp. 353-354. For the fish roe produced from *kephalos*, see F. Tinnefeld, "Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische", *Collected Papers Dedicated to Kin-ichi Watanabe, Studies in the Mediterranean World Past and Present*, XI, Tokyo 1988, 159.

Epist. 58

2 ὀσπρίῳ – φαυσηλίῳ: Hyrtakenos gives an exceptional etymology for the word φάσηλος/φασήολος/φασόλιν (derived from φαῦσις/φάω and ἥλιος) to comply with the symbolism of his gift of beans – that the Emperor may rule like the sun from sunrise in the east to sunset in the west. An anonymous medical tract transmits also the form φαυσούλιον (J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici greci minors*, II, ch. 18, 2); cf. also *Etymologicum Gudianum*, F.W. Sturz, 550, φασουλίς, ὄσπρεα, φῶς ὅλον. In encomia, letters and *prooimia* the Emperor is likened to the sun[8] – a standard propaganda theme which is reflected in some fashion here as also in Epist. 36, 22-23: καὶ τῇ θέρμῃ προστρέχω τοῦ βασιλέως – ἥλιος γάρ.

Epist. 59

2-3 Πυροῦ τελέως ἐκλελοιπότος με ἔργον γέγονα πυρετοῦ: Hyrtakenos does not complain about his health, a favoured topic by some letter writers as, for instance, Gregorios Kyprios. In his Oration dedicated to the Theotokos of the Akatamachetos Church in Constantinople, he mentioned, however, that he was rescued from death by the Mother of God having fallen seriously sick during a widespread disaster, perhaps an epidemic (?): οὗπερ ἔργον ἐν χρῷ κεκινδυνευκότα γεγονέναι διεφυλάξω με, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βραχὺ παραπεμψομένου τοῖς ἐν ᾅδου νοσήματος (Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 57).

2-3 πυρετοῦ – κριθῆς: The remedy which Hyrtakenos de-

8. Cf. Hunger, *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, 75-80. Parani, "Rise like the Sun: the God-inspired Kingship: Light-symbolism and the Uses of Light in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremony", 159-184.

scribes was known from the time of Oribasius who advised that the barley should not be peeled but only washed in water and be boiled: τοῖς δὲ πυρέττουσι δεῖ τὴν κριθὴν μὴ περιπτίσσειν, ἀλλὰ πλύναντες ἑψεῖν τῷ ὕδατι. Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, 4, 35, 9, 2.

Epist. 61

The fact that Hyrtakenos was entertaining the idea to retire to a monastery because of his financial problems presupposes that at that time he was either a widower or that he had never been married. The idea of taking monastic vows and retiring from the world is discussed also in a letter (dating from the same period?) to Basileios Glykys: δεῖν ᾠήθην ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν βίῳ τοιῷδε, συντάξασθαι δὲ Θεῷ (Epist. 93, 3-4).

Epist. 62

2-3 ἅλματα περὶ λόγους – τὸν φίλτατον ἅλλεσθαι: The letter suggests that Hyrtakenos was left with no students at that time and on account of it he offered to work for Metochites as a private tutor. In another instance he informed Opsikianos that he was not hired as a teacher (μὴ θητεύων τελῶ), but he would be grateful if he could offer his services once again (Epist. 45, 4).

Epist. 63

9-10 Συχνός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι μάτην παρῴχηκε, μηδὲν ὀναμένῳ τῆς λειτουργίας: The same wording is used in his next letter to the Emperor, which suggests that they date

from the same period: μακρός μοι χρόνος παιδοτριβοῦντι παρῴχηκε ... τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας ὀναμένῳ μηδὲν (Epist. 64, 2-3).

17-19 εἰ δ' οὖν, Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις ἐς Κέρβερον, σχολή, χολὴ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἐς κόρακας: His complaint that he taught prosody (προσῳδία) and yet he had no profit (πρόσοδος) from it – καὶ τὸ λαρυγγίζειν περὶ προσῳδιῶν, πρόσοδος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ he wrote another time to Metochites (Epist. 66, 24) – and that he was fed up with his school, which to him was no longer σχολή but rather χολή, though voiced in a serious and sober tone, has a mocking if not sarcastic effect (cf. also Epist. 64, 66, 74, 77, 81 and 93 which seem to belong chronologically to the same period).[9] If this supposition proves correct then this cluster of letters which register his efforts to gain a government salary were written during the patriarchate of Ioannes Glykys (1315-1319) because in Epist. 93 Hyrtakenos asked Basileios Glykys to intervene on his behalf with his father the Patriarch to secure the much desired *siteresion*.

20-21 πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, γνώρισον τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολήν: The letter which Hyrtakenos asked the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* to submit to the Emperor comes next in the collection (Epist 64), which suggests that they form a sequel.

9. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω σχολή, ἐρρόντων λόγοι (Epist. 74, 27-28); εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐρρέτω μὲν Ἑρμῆς αὐτοῖς νέοις θητεύουσιν, ἐρρόντων λόγοι, Μοῦσαί τε καὶ σχολή (Epist. 77, 26-28); εἰ δ' οὖν, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴκοι μενῶ, οἱ φοιτηταὶ δὲ παιζόντων ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς (Epist. 81, 17-19).

Epist. 64

5-7 τοιγαροῦν, ἀπειρηκότι παιδοτριβεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, ῥᾷον οὐδὲν ἄνευ σῆς προσταγῆς: Hyrtakenos was not free to give up teaching without the Emperor's permission.[10] He was in some kind of dependence on the State as a teacher salaried by the court and as such only the Emperor could relieve him of his contract. Evidently his school was attended by poor students sponsored by the government. He reminded the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* that by supporting him the court will support actually the young men in their studies (συστήσαις ἂν καὶ νέους, Ἑρμῆν θεραπεύοντας, Epist. 63, 17). The same argument he used also in his letter to the Emperor – that the gain of teaching poor students is in essence transferred to his imperial majesty: ὡς ἄν, πενομένων διδασκομένων, ἐς τὴν σὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν διαβαίνῃ τὸ κέρδος (Epist. 64, 9-10).

Epist. 67

10 τὰ Μυρτίλου παθεῖν: The charioteer Myrtilos was bribed by Pelops to tamper the axle of the chariot of his master Oinomaos so that Pelops would win the chariot race and

10. καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ ζυγῷ δουλείας καταδεδίκασμαι, βασιλέως ἔτι παιδεύειν νέους προστάσσοντος (Epist. 93, 6-8 to Basileios Glykys). This letter seems to have been written at the same time as Epist. 64 judging from the similarities in their wording: καὶ τῆς ἐπαράτου λειτουργίας ὀναμένῳ μηδέν (64, 3) - καὶ μηδὲν τῆς ἐπαράτου ταύτης λειτουργίας ὀνάμενος (93, 2-3).

take Oinomaos' daughter Hippodameia for his wife. Yet after his victory and the abduction of Hippodameia Pelops threw Myrtilos into the sea. Pauly-Wissova, XVI 1158ff. Eustathius *Comm. Il.* 281, 10 ff. (van der Valk): τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι διὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Μυρτίλῳ θρυλλούμενα, ὃς ἡνιόχει μὲν Οἰνομάῳ τῷ τῆς ῥηθείσης Ἱπποδαμείας πατρὶ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς λεγόμενος διὰ τὸ δόλιος εἶναι καὶ λόγιος· προὔδωκε δὲ τὸν δεσπότην πεισθεὶς τῇ παιδὶ θελούσῃ τὸ κακὸν κατὰ ἔρωτα Πέλοπος καὶ τοὺς πασσαλίσκους ἤτοι ἐμβόλους ἐξελών, οἳ ταῖς χοινικίσιν ἤτοι τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ ἄξονος ἐνειρόμενοι κατέχουσι τοὺς τροχούς, διεκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁρματηλασίας πεποίηκεν.

38 τριῶν μονυδρίων εἰρησομένων: The exact location of the three small monasteries which Hyrtakenos wished to receive as a *charistikion* in the mountainous region of Kyzikos is not known, despite the fact that monastic establishments dedicated to Saint George and the Archangel Michael are mentioned in the sources (with the exception of the third one called by the surname Karydion). It is worth mentioning that the practice of offering monastic properties to individuals as a *charistikion* for a limited period of time and on a conditional basis during this period was rather restricted, and this may explain the reluctance of the Patriarch Ioannes Glykys to grant this favour to Hyrtakenos. M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, 156-157.

Epist. 69

5-6 προοίμιον ὕμνου πρὸς Ἁγησίδαμον Πινδάρῳ τῷ σοφῷ λελυρῴδηται: In his Olympian 10 Pindar commemorated the victory of Hagesidamos of Western Lokroi in boxing in Olympia in 476BC.

Epist. 70

2 Καὶ γραῦς μεμαθηκυῖα συκοφαγεῖν: Hyrtakenos here echoes a proverb or some kind of a popular saying which nonetheless is transmitted in Modern Greek proverbial phrases in the form of «γλυκάθηκεν ἡ γριὰ 'ς τὰ σῦκα». Cf. N.G. Polites, *Μελέτες περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ*, vol. IV, Athens 1902, 128, 131-132.

Epist. 71

7-9 οὐκοῦν τοὐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἀσκητὸν πῖλον, Ἡσιόδῳ πεισθεὶς τῷ σοφῷ, πέπομφας: Hats made of compressed wool were in fashion in the last centuries of Byzantium. Their type and shape however is not specified in the letters of this period. Michael Gabras asked Philippos Logaras to provide him an ἀσκητὸν πῖλον – the Hesiodian appellation had become obviously a clisché in learned circles – from a shop located in his neighborhood; Epist. 400, Fatouros, 625, 2ff and 426, p. 659, 3ff. Cf. also A. Karpozilos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography", *BZ* 88 (1995) 79-80.

Epist. 73

11-12 οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκρους ἀστρονόμους ὠδίνουσάν τε καὶ τρέφουσαν: The interest in astronomy was revived in Constantinople by Theodoros Metochites who began his studies in this field around 1313 under the instruction of the prominent astronomer Manuel Bryennios; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, 248-249. But Loukites himself seems to have been interested in astronomy and certainly knew the astronomer Gregorios Chioniades who had lived for a period of time in Trebizond, and had exchanged letters with Nikephoros Gregoras a student of Metochites in the field of astronomy; cf. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II, 251-252.

Epist. 74

The letter must have been written at about the same time with Epist. 77 addressed to Nikephoros Choumnos. Hyrtakenos reminds Metochites the financial support given to Hyaleas (*PLP* 29466) and Chalkomatopoulos (*PLP* 30525) by the *megas logothetes* Theodoros Mouzalon (1282-1294; *PLP* 19439)and respectively by the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos and the same details he repeats in Epist. 77. The two letters may be dated sometime after 1321 because Hyrtakenos refers to the predecessors of Metochites in the office of the *megas logothetes*: Οἱ πρὸ σοῦ τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἐλαύνοντες ἅρμα (l. 16-17).[11] Cf.

11. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 223-224 dates this letter around 1312 or even earlier and argues that it belongs in the same period with Epp. 33, 34 and 36.

also I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Brussels 1962, 153, who remarked that the similarity of the two letters did not bother Hyrtakenos because Metochites and Choumnos could not compared them since they were not in good terms. Chalkomatopoulos surfaces as a private teacher in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Maximos Planudes in fact entrusted to his care the education of his servant Ioannes. But the youth seemingly did not receive enough instruction from Chalkomatopoulos prompting Planudes to send him an written complaint (Epist. 66, Leone, 96,24-98,19). About the teaching activities of Hyaleas we are less informed – but according to Hyrtakenos he too had received a *siteresion* with the support of Theodoros Mouzalon.

Epist. 75

2 Ἔστι μὲν ἐν μονάσιν ὁ ἓξ τέλειος: The number which is equal to the sum of its factors is called perfect. The symbolism behind the number six is all too clear for God created the world in six days (cf. also Epist. 88, where the same theme is repeated). For a similar play with perfect numbers in epistolography, see Epist. 213 of Theodoros II Lascaris, Festa, 264,11 – 265,19 and Epist. 71 (70 Rein) of Georgios Oinaiotes: G. H. Karlsson – G. Fatouros, "Aus der Briefsammlung des Anonymus Floretinus (Georgios? Oinaiotes)", *JŐB* 22 (1973) 211.

6-9 τοῦτον δὴ διὰ ῥοιᾶς γενημάτων – καὶ τέταρτον συμβασιλεύοντα σχοίητε: The fruit of pomegranate since antiquity was connected with fertility and the power of reproduction (cf. Paus. 2, 17, 4).[12] Hyrtakenos sent a gift of pomegranates to Andronikos II along with his best wishes that may soon be added a fourth joint Emperor to the throne so that they may rule in the four corners of the world. The number four receives in this sense a symbolic meaning. The same wish Hyrtakenos expressed also in Epist. 83 and 88, an indication that the three letters were written at about the same time, that is when next to Andronikos II reigned his son Michael IX (+ 12. 10. 1320) and his grandson Andronikos III. The three letters must be dated consequently some time after the marriage of the younger Andronikos to Eirene von Braunschweig (23 October 1317) and perhaps in the course of 1318; cf. Fatouros, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 222-223.

Epist. 77

22-23 ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ὁπόσον εὐδαιμονίας τἀνδρὶ περιῆν διὰ σοῦ; Hyrtakenos believed that he had been unjustly overlooked by the powerful officials and made no secret of his

12. ὁ δὲ βίος μιμείσθω τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς ῥοιᾶς τὴν φύσιν. Ἐκείνης γὰρ ἄβρωτός ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, στερρῷ τε καὶ κατεστυμμένῳ τῷ ἐλύτρῳ διειλημμένη, τὸ δὲ ἐγκείμενον ἡδὺ μὲν ὀφθῆναι τῷ ποικίλῳ τε καὶ εὐκόσμῳ τῆς τοῦ καρποῦ διαθέσεως, ἥδιον δὲ τῇ γεύσει γίνεται, καταγλυκαῖνον τὴν αἴσθησιν. Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Mosis*, J. Danielou, 2, 192, 9; 193,13.

bitterness in this letter to Nikephoros Choumnos who had secured a much coveted *siteresion* for the teacher Chalkomatopoulos (*PLP* 30525) in the past. In the funeral oration he composed for Choumnos around 1327, probably towards the end of his life and career as a teacher, he remarked that he should not be the one delivering the oration, but those that had been advanced to important positions by the departed: ἔδει μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις μᾶλλον τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον σοφῶν, ὧν ἦν τε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ οὓς τῷ διὰ Θεοῦ βασιλεύοντι προσῳκείωσε. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 288.

Epist. 78

15-16 ἅτε δὴ συνὼν ἀνδράσιν οὐχ Ἕλλησιν οὐδ' ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας μετέχουσιν: This statement is puzzling – that Loukites was surrounded by non Greeks, by people who had no share of Greek learning. Was Hyrtakenos a highly opinionated scholar prejudiced towards those who lived outside the walls of Constantinople? He may have exaggerated; but it is also a well known fact that the Komnenoi in order to survive had made marriage alliances with foreign rulers, Georgians and Turkomans in particular. But it was not only Loukites who went from Constantinople to Trebizond to settle there. The astronomer Gregorios Chioniades lived and taught in Trebizond at about the same period and even left part of his library to Loukites. Andreas Libadenos some years later went there to study astronomy but stayed much longer and had a career as an

eclessiastic and court official. Nevertheless it was unthinkable to leave Constantinople in order to settle in Trebizond. It was like giving gold for bronze and with this argument the metropolitan of Ohrid Gregorios tried to dissuade a young man (Georgios Oinaiotes?) from making his home there: τὸ γοῦν ταύτης Τραπεζοῦντα ἀλλάξασθαι 'χρύσεια χαλκείων' κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἔστιν ἀλλάξασθαι. S.I. Kourouses, «Γρηγορίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας (ιγ'/ ιδ' αἰ.) Ἐπιστολαὶ μετά τινων βιογραφικῶν ἐξακριβώσεων», *ΕΕΒΣ* 45 (1981-82), 539,35-36, 548-552.

44-45 ἣν καμχᾶν ἡ Περσῶν φησι γλῶττα: The word καμχᾶς or καμουχᾶς (for instance in the *Alexanderroman*, ed. U. Moennig, B 794 / S 808, B 838 / S 854 derives from the Turkish *kemha*, designating normally a luxury garment made of silk; cf. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας*, vol. VII, p. 320. B. Hemmerdinger, "158 noms communs grecs d' origine iranienne. D' Eschyle au grec modern", *BS* 30 (1969) 30-31. The opinion of R. Shukurov that the earliest reference to the word in Greek is encountered in the account notes of Silvester Syropoulos is not exact: "On Some Oriental Borrowings in Middle Greek (Eleventh – Fifteen Centuries)", *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gőnül Byzantine Studies Symposium, İstanbul 25-28 June, 2007*, İstanbul, 2010, 153.

Epist. 82

11-12 τοῦ παρόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ – στέφανον: The letter was obviously written on new year's day (September 1st) – χρόνος, ὃς παρῴχηκε χθές. The biblical phrase στέφανος τοῦ ἐνιατοῦ (Ps. 64:12) designates the twelve months of the year. Cf. *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, W. Wolska-Conus, IX, 7, 6: θαυμασίως τὸν κύκλον τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν στέφανον ἐξειπών, ὡς στεφανοῦντα τῷ κάλλει ἄνωθεν τὴν γῆν.

Epist. 83

2-3 Ἀριθμὸς ὁ τέσσαρα – ἔστι μὲν ἐπίπεδος, γίνεται δὲ καὶ στερρός: Hyrtakenos provides himself the symbolic significance of the number four echoing Pythagorean and Christian precepts: the four elements of the created world, the four humours of the human body, the four quarters of the world. Cf. "Number Symbolism and Theory", *ODB*, III, 1502.

Epist. 86

10-11 ἥκει τοίνυν παῖς ὁ καλὸς παρὰ πατέρα τὸν κάλλιστον: The title of Choumnos' composition is not specified in the text unless it concerns the discourse about which Hyrtakenos writes in Epist. 91. For the designation of the letter as a spiritual offspring (παῖδες, τόκοι, γεννήματα), see Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, 226.

Epist. 87

8 τὸν τῆς παροιμίας Ἀρτέμωνα: Artemon became notorious for his luxurious living and loose morals, contrasted to his past poverty and humble social position. C. Brown, "From Rags to Riches: Anacreon's Artemon", *Phoenix* 87 (1983) 1-15.

45-46 Περί γε μὴν τῆς σῆς ἀρίστης ἐκφράσεως ἀριστίνδην καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐξήνεγκα: From Basileios Glykys' writings nothing survives. Yet, he seems to have been a scholar judging not only from his correspondence with Hyrtakenos, but also from his friendship with Nikephoros Gregoras as it is evinced in a letter addressed to him; Epist. 58, Leone, 178-179.

Epist. 88

8-10 τὸν ἑπτὰ τετράκις ἐμπεριέχων – εὐλογίαν ἀπειληφότα: Nikephoros Gregoras composed an arithmological treatise Περὶ τοῦ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμοῦ, ὅτι πολλαχόθεν ἔχει τὸ σεβάσμιον in which he discussed the mystical significance of the number seven in musical theory (ἑπτάχορδος λύρα), language (seven vowels), astronomy (seven planets), and medicine (according to Hippocrates); cf. F. Sbordone, "L' ebdomadario di Niceforo Gregora", *Rivista Indo - greco - italica* 20 (1936) 124-142.

19-23 ὡς ἂν συμβασιλεύοντες τέτταρες – τὸ τετραμερὲς ἅρμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑφ' ἑνὶ τεθρίππῳ συζεύξαντες. This letter was written in the course of 1318 at about the same time as Epist. 75 and 83 and in anticipation that a new member would be soon added in the imperial family. From his marriage to Eirene von Braunschweig (23. 10. 1317) the

younger Andronikos had a son born to him in 1321 but this child died in a year or so.

Epist. 91

11-12 εἰ δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς δὴ περιῆν ὁ θεόπτης: the discourse praised here by Hyrtakenos is identified with an unedited work in which Choumnos dealt at length with Moses (Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδύνατον) and commented on the Revelation that God presented to Moses and the marvels of the physical universe (Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, 18, 55, 138-140).

Epist. 92

This letter is essentially a duplicate of nr. 2 and its inclusion into the collection is somewhat puzzling. It may have slipped into the collection by mistake as Fatouros suggests, "Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos", 229. Its inclusion in the collection however could also imply that the codex *Parisinus gr*. 1209 is an autograph of Hyrtakenos because it transmits two different versions of a letter composed by him including the final one which he reworked and opted as a final text placing it in the very first letters of his collection. For the various stages of composition and the authorial intervention on manuscripts by way of corrections and alterations in the text, see D. Reinsch, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften", *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger, Darmstadt 1980, 629-644.

INDICES

I. PROPER NAMES

II. TERMS AND VOCABULARY

III. INDEX OF SOURCES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES

A. Vetus Testamentum

Novum Testamentum

B. Aliorum operum

IV. INCIPITS